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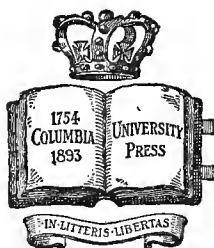
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EUROPEAN CHARACTERS IN FRENCH DRAMA OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY
HARRY KURZ, PH.D.



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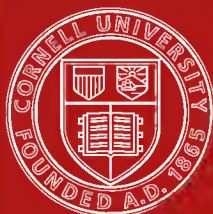
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GRACE COOK KURZ

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ADOLPHE COHN

NEW YORK, January, 1916.

PREFACE

This book is a study of European characters as they were depicted by French dramatists and, therefore, as they appeared to French audiences. The scope of the work can be briefly indicated as follows:

- (a) Plays written or presented between 1714 and 1789.
- (b) All forms of French drama except tragedy.
- (c) Plays presenting characters belonging to all the European nations except the Greeks and the Turks.

The limits mentioned have been overstepped here and there when it seemed necessary.

The author takes this opportunity to express, even if inadequately, his appreciation of the inspiring contact he has had with these scholars: Adolphe Cohn, whose erudition and stirring power of diction constitute a memorable influence; Henry Alfred Todd, whose sympathetic scholarship is a beacon to his students; Raymond Weeks, friend and guide, whose words one day suggested the subject of this book; Calvin Thomas, famous scholar and teacher; Charles Alfred Downer, erudite and versatile mind, whose influence stirred in the author the interest that has since dominated his life.

Immeasurable also is the debt to Gustave Lanson, whose fresh insight into vital methods of research aroused in the author new vigor for the pursuit of the *béau idéal* in literary endeavor.

H. K.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
(1916)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	ix
THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES	1
ITALIANS	9
I. Artists and Professionals	14
II. Lesser Folk; Arlequin	21
III. The Corsair and Italy	27
IV. Italian Lovers	30
V. Literary Considerations	38
THE SPANISH	43
I. Historic Spain	48
II. Lovers and the Code of Conduct	56
III. The Spain of Beaumarchais	73
IV. Literary Considerations	79
GERMANS	87
I. Characters	93
II. Literary Considerations	111
THE ENGLISH	115
I. English Kings	137
II. English Aristocrats	141
III. English Lords in Exile	151
IV. English Attitude toward the French	155
V. French Attitude toward the English	166
VI. Englishmen of Middle Rank and Lower	183
VII. English Women and their Lovers	204
VIII. Perverted English and Bad French	234
IX. Literary Considerations	242
X. Conclusion	247
THE MINOR NATIONS	249
I. The Swiss	251
1. Switzerland	251
2. Swiss Characters	254
II. The Netherlanders	260
1. Holland and Flanders	260
2. Characters from The Netherlands	261

III. Eastern Countries	268
1. The Nations to the East of France	268
2. Characters from the Nations to the East of France	274
FRANCE AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE	295
I. Frenchmen	298
II. European Nationalities	299
III. Love in the European Countries	310
APPENDIX	323
INDEX	325

THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES

THE STUDY OF NATIONALITIES

THE object of this study is to trace the opinions about foreign nations held by the French during the eighteenth century, in so far as the numerous comic writers of the time reflected these views in their plays. Perhaps this investigation of a simple literary question might be considered as part of a larger inquiry, the purpose of which would be to show what image of itself each great nation, after its period of ascendancy, left in the minds of other nations. Such a discussion makes a natural and effective appeal to our interest.

Cycles in history are periods that witness repetitions of events or tendencies. Revolutions, wars, religious revivals, schools of literary development, are a few of the practical evidences of this rotary trend of human life. In the study of the growth of nations we have a perfect field for the discernment of these recurrent phenomena. Speaking of the modern world only, this is what we find as we glance back at the last few rungs of the ladder of the centuries. In the fourteenth century a great movement arises in Italy and sweeps over Europe, transforming the nations intellectually, causing them to look askance at a narrow scholasticism and to glimpse a new spirit of toleration and freedom. The fifteenth sees the birth of a great hero who later leads the German revolt against the temporal control of an all-powerful church. Then, in the sixteenth, Spain takes ascendancy with her power of conquest and her distant lands of storied Indian gold. Thus she tinges the tide of the world

till she fades before the growing glory of France under Louis XIV. During this seventeenth space of years France glows brilliantly in her new-born power, as she inundates the continent with wave after wave of intellectual and social influence. In the eighteenth century the might of England grows apace as she deals her fatal blows against the colonies of France. And recently, England, with her great mission of empire and maritime power realized, has witnessed the steady growth of a tremendous rival that has ventured finally to plan a day when it was to rise up in strength and dictate its own powerful message. The world is now beholding such a struggle as it has often beheld before and as it will see again, unless cycles cease.

The tremendous effect upon its arts and letters of this political ascendancy of a country is self-evident. It was a full-grown Athens that gave us our unsurpassed philosophies, a mature Rome that lived an Augustan age, a hardy England that grew into the Elizabethan period, a full-blown France that witnessed the classical perfection of her tragic writers. Even Italy need not be classed as an exception, for though her political impotence had begun when her MACHIAVELLI, her ARIOSTO, her MICHELANGELO, exerted their wondrous powers, yet they had been born and bred under the free skies and the broad ideals of the years preceding Charles VIII's invasion of their country. When a nation, having reached her full growth, has produced in her literature and in her arts the ideal she intimately possesses, has engraved, so to speak, by the deep energetic strokes of her genius, her own image upon the works she has

created, then that nation, in the flush of her power, imposes upon her neighbors the type she is, and for years she leads in the onward process of life. This she does all the more easily because of the undaunted inspiration of her people, and because, after all, her individuality bears stamped upon it the larger features of humanity. National and individual she remains, but in her resplendent leadership, still identified with the common aspirations of her neighbors who join her in the great movement of progress. Italy and her Renaissance, Germany and her Reformation, Spain and her New World, France and the splendors of her Court followed by the reverberating truths of her Revolution, and finally, England and her Oceans, all these are testimonies of the splendid awakenings of national effort unto a synthesis of all the genius and power contained in a people. After each of these national phases there comes a waning, and a new figure arises on the world stage and strikes the imagination of men vividly and with a new force. In each of these phases we have the phenomenon of a young existence, full of vitality and strength, forcing others to pay it attention, until it eventually yields its place to a still younger existence. And, as the centuries fly, the task of each particular national growth is accomplished; each leaves some great element of its life and genius that can never be lost and will always mingle with the life and genius of other nations.

In respect to this great national interplay of influence, the eighteenth century represents a terrific battle-ground when the genius of no one people was predominant, and yet when several were trying to

give gigantic expression to the powerful impulses that stirred them. It is a century when England inaugurated her naval policy and acquired the Empire upon which the sun never sets. It is a century when in impoverished France there grew apace the irresistible moral conviction of liberty and brotherhood that finally colored the whole world with new democratic ideals. It is a century, too, when the great military policy of Prussia was organized, a policy that brings us to the wrack and ruin of to-day.¹

Certainly, a better understanding of the present repays one for the closer study of this century. And one of the best ways to study this period, as we hope will be realized from this work, is to try to glean its dramatic utterances. We do not include in these the verbose and haughty tones of its tragedies; but rather the ordinary voices that we can overhear in the lowlier forms of dramatic art, the comedy, the farce, the vaudeville. In the plays that have been examined, we have found marvelous reflections of these contemporary movements, and we have been brought wonderfully close to the people, to the throbbing impulses that actuated them in their thoughts and feelings concerning their neighbors. We have viewed through the eyes of French dramatists the manifold impressions that were given to them and that they communicated in turn to their exacting audiences. We have found a re-creation of the life of the time, which, even if it lacks

¹ For some interesting statements on national developments, see in *La Revue Politique et Littéraire*, Aug. 19, 1882, an article by RAOUL ROSIÈRES on English literature in France from 1750 to 1800. Cf. also the Introduction to JOSEPH TEXTE'S splendid book, *Rousseau et le Cosmopolitisme Littéraire au 18^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1895.

the realism that we are so fond of in our plays of to-day, gives us a startling approximation to the truth. MARIVAUX, one of the cleverest of our dramatists, puts it ably when he remarks a little acridly upon the fondness of the French for the foreign characters in their plays, a fondness that encouraged authors to enhance the qualities of their foreigners to the detriment of their compatriots. Says the Chevalier, one of MARIVAUX's anonymous figures:²

. . . va-t'en par exemple, chez une autre nation lui exposer ses ridicules et y donner hautement la préférence à la tienne; elle ne sera pas assez forte pour soutenir cela, on te jettera par les fenêtres. Ici tu verras tout un peuple rire, battre des mains, applaudir à un spectacle où on se moque de lui, en le mettant au dessous d'une autre nation qu'on lui compare. L'étranger qu'on y loue n'y rit pas de si bon cœur que lui, et cela est charmant.

It is right to add here that the French are not so badly treated by their own dramatists as MARIVAUX affirms. We shall find more frequently abundant assertions of their superiority in many ways. But we shall also find reënforced and amplified some of the very typical notions we possess to-day concerning Europeans. We shall discern clearly in our dramatic testimonies the Englishman, taciturn, thoughtful, honest; the Spaniard, romantic, unpractical, quixotic; the Italian, artistic, unscrupulous, imaginative; the German, military, practical; the Swiss,³ blustering, clownish. We shall meet all

² *L'Ile de la Raison* (1728), Scene 1.

³ With a few exceptions, Swiss characters presented are doorkeepers and janitors, since, in fact, actually discharged Swiss soldiers assumed mainly those occupations in France.

these in hundreds of interesting ways. We shall discover the French thought of the century as it regards the Dutch and the Belgian nations, and also those peoples further east,—Austrians, Hungarians, Russians, and others. We shall be enabled to tell how our typical judgments of to-day differ from those held at that time, and also to what a large extent they agree. The purpose of this study then is to trace, through the medium of our clever French dramatists, the essential opinions held by the French people of the European foreigners whose cities they visited, and who were drawn in ever increasing throngs to the wonderful white capital of France.

ITALIANS

ITALIANS

IN their relations with the French, the Italians among all European nations occupy a distinctive position in the eighteenth century. This position certainly cannot be characterized as one of political rivalry, as was the case with Englishmen, who soon became identified with vast colonial ambitions. The disunited Italian principalities counted for very little in the mighty upheavals of the century. Nor can it be said that the peculiarity of their intercourse with the French was caused by a popular conception of a close kinship, like that existing between Bourbon France and Spain. Frenchmen and Italians were bound together during the century by very few royal marriages.

Politically, then, there was hardly any interchange of importance, because politically there was no Italy. Prostrate and defenceless, arranged and rearranged, Italy suffers constant divisions from 1713 to 1748. Generally, she offers to her more powerful neighbors a very convenient battle-ground. Her fair provinces ravaged, they fall to the lot of victor or vanquished according to arrangement, without their inhabitants caring or knowing. The Peace of Utrecht (1713), of Vienna (1738), and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), transferred from hand to hand with the utmost ease Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Modena, Parma, Lucca, and the others. After 1748 there

came a long period of repose, with the Austrians in definite control of Lombardy. Numerous paternal despots reigned in the other provinces and cities, and efficaciously prevented the birth of nationality. The people were peacefully prosperous and placidly content, not bothering their heads too much as to who owned them. This condition of slothful quietude remained until the French Revolution.

From this hint of the political misfortunes of Italy, it is evident that the Italians, as seen by our French dramatists, could hardly be invested with the similitude of the vital present, so much more natural in enemies or allies. The fact is that Italian influence and relationship with the French are distinctly of the past. The fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had seen the beginning and the complete efflorescence of the great sway of the classic gifts that Italy drew from her past, impregnated with her soul, and presented to the world. All cultivated persons, poets, scholars, artists, made pilgrimages to her beautiful cities. RONSARD, RABELAIS, MONTAIGNE, VOITURE, worshiped in her cathedrals. On the other hand, Paris had received within her gates hosts of Italian students, adventurers, exiles. DANTE, PETRARCH, TASSO, and LEONARDO DA VINCI, ANDREA DEL SARTO, BENVENUTO CELLINI, all had come to study in her learned circles.

The intercourse had been therefore mutual and intimate. To the Frenchman of the eighteenth century, Italy could be no stranger in thought and fact. She was the established home of art — architecture, painting, sculpture, and music as well. She sent her teachers into France, so that her influence was pal-

pable and familiar. In our plays we meet these Italian devotees under various guises — a musician, a sculptor, a teacher, a vagrant, and last, but not least, an actor.

The preceding century had seen a very successful troupe of Italian actors in Paris,¹ but their theater had been closed in 1697 owing to the tyrannical jealousy of the Comédie Française, the established French theater.² In 1716 the Regent was prevailed upon to allow a reorganization of an Italian troupe, and its arrival in Paris was a veritable triumph. The actors, in order to attract a larger public, soon ceased giving their plays in Italian. French writers like REGNARD, LESAGE, MARIVAUX, PIRON, and FAVART contributed to their theater, often using the stock Italian characters — Arlequin, Scaramouche, Mezzetin, Pantalon, Le Docteur, Isabelle, and Marinette. The troupe had its own playwrights also. GOLDONI, RICCOBONI, BIANCOLELLI (who was known as Dominique), ROMAGNESI, and others, furnished plays in Italian. Later they wrote plays in French, while character and plot remained Italian.

Artistically then, and especially in the theatrical art, the French were in touch with their Southern neighbors. This fact is abundantly evidenced in the dramatic thought of the century.

¹ As early as 1577, the Gelosi, or Italian actors anxious to please, established themselves at the hôtel du Petit Bourbon in Paris. Their charge for admission was four sous.

² The flagrant caricature of Louis XIV's secret queen, M^{me} de Maintenon, in a play called *La Fausse Prude* was the immediate cause of their exile.

I — ARTISTS AND PROFESSIONALS

The Italian musician is an extremely familiar figure in plays of the century. The French had a fondness for him and confessedly plagiarized his work whenever it seemed desirable. FAVART comically pictures this condition. In one of his plays,³ M. Cliquette comes in swaying from side to side. Parody, an allegorical figure, warns him that he is in danger of falling, to which he answers that he has "deux bons contrepoids." He explains further: "De ce côté c'est la Musique Française, un peu lourde à la vérité; de l'autre, de la Musique Italienne, fort légère, mais bien chargée de notes; cela fait l'équilibre." Parody asks: "Comment! Est-ce que vous prétendez faire usage de cette Musique Italienne?" M. Cliquette replies simply: "Eh! mais, par-ci par-là. Elle fait son effet, mêlée artistement avec la nôtre et sans que cela paraisse; mais dans les Ariettes et les Ballets seulement." Italian music is thus a rather flimsy, glittering affair, a melodic handmaiden to the stately tragic accents of dramatic French opera. Nevertheless the public preferred the former, and brought about terrific jealous quarrels between the established royal Academy of Music and the struggling Opéra Comique. But the theoretic side of Italian music was apparently not so popular. BOISSY shows this in Lucile's energetic statement in regard to her lover's passion for Italian music:⁴

³ *La Parodie au Parnasse* (1759), Scene 3.

⁴ *La Surprise de la Haine* (1734), Act 1, Scene 5.

Lucile

Musique Italienne! Ah! Quel goût dépravé!

Lisidor

Par tous les vrais Savans il se voit approuvé.

Lucile

Il me prend des vapeurs au seul nom de Cantate,
Je pensai l'autre jour mourir d'une Sonate

If technical terms are uninteresting, not so the music and certainly not the composers. An anonymous play⁵ gives a good typical picture of an Italian composer. His name, Vacarmini, illustrates a general tendency among playwrights who present such characters; they often choose some noun or adjective which would place the profession in a ludicrous light, and then add an Italian termination. Hence Barnabera, a pirate; Octavini, Créscendo, and Brodanti, musicîans; and Rhubarbini, a physician. Vacarmini has been in Germany and has acquired a wide reputation, which he inflates still further by a conceited modesty. He easily lends himself to subterfuge and quietly accepts money from his accomplices as a reward for his cleverness. The Italian Composer in our plays is never at a loss, no matter what the situation is. He overcomes obstacles at a glance, as did Brodanti,⁶ who claims that he is "Compositeur Français de Musique Italienne." One day his poet neglected to give him the prearranged supply of words to set to music.

⁵ *La Musicomanie* (1779) in BAUDRAIS, *Petite Bibliothèque des Théâtres*, Vol. 74.

⁶ *Momus Exilé* by FUZELIER. *Parodies du Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 3, Act 1, Scène 2.

Without any hesitation Brodanti set to music a complete almanac of Milan. The composer is therefore like his Italian music, light, adaptable, tricky.

Italy was a great source of inspiration to French dramatists, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century. During this time, Italian influence practically dominated some forms of comedy. FAVART, in 1760, acknowledged this debt in a play that he called *La Ressource des Théâtres*. In this farce Crispin is carried by Pegasus to the foot of Mount Parnassus. There he interviews Aristarchus, the classic who wants all non-tragic writers to measure up in quality to Anacreon, Sappho, and Horace. Crispin, a comie writer himself, thus discovers that if he is funny, he will be held up as indecent; if he is philosophic, he will be cast out as a bore. So he concludes that he must not write at all. But he is saved by La Folie, an allegorical figure. L'Industrie, another symbolic figure, introduces her (sc. 5): "La Folie, la Reine du monde: elle est allée en Italie chercher des ressources pour vous tous. Quand les extravagances d'un pays commencent à s'user, nous les renouvelons avec les ridicules d'un autre & nous faisons des échanges." And so, Narcotique, a sleepy character, gets an *opéra bouffe* from Venice to wake him up. Industry freely acknowledges her own kinship with Folly for she is herself of Italian origin.

An even closer bond was established by the Italian actors in Paris who furnished a direct means of dramatic inspiration. These actors were generally recognized as very able in their profession, indeed, according to LESAGE, superior to the French. In

his *La Foire de Guibray* (1714), in the Prologue, an Italian who wants to introduce his actors advances toward the Judge or High Functionary and, after bowing twenty times, offers a spirited proof that Italian actors are better than the French. His main argument is that they make more money. This pragmatic test ought to convince even a manager of to-day of the superiority of any troupe.

Nor was the popularity of "Les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roi" confined to France. The Parisian troupe came very near visiting England at the behest of royalty. And LESAGE shows in his dramatic way that they pleased wherever they went. The great actress Cliclinia recounts the adventures of her company in one of his plays:⁷ "Notre troupe allait en Angleterre chercher des guinées; les vents nous ont jetés dans la Méditerranée, où nous avons rencontré un Corsaire algérien qui nous a forcés d'aller rendre visite au bacha." The latter gave them their freedom because he was pleased when they acted for him.

So much for these artists. But there are occupations which, though they have no direct bearing on what we please to term art, are still associated with skill and mental effort. Among the afore-mentioned professions of talent, I venture, therefore, to include in a minor key the less gifted profession of the language teacher. He is to be found, of course, this teacher of Italian, and like others of his ilk, he is not too savory a character. DU VAURE ably reveals him in *Le Faux Savant* (1728). M. Timantoni teaches Italian to his French heroine and

⁷ *Les Comédiens Corsaires* (1726), Prologue, Scene 3.

incidentally aids her to escape from an odious marriage with one Polimatte, a spurious scholar. The teacher is a rather inferior character dividing his attention between cultivating the young for little money, and serving their *amours* with richer profit for himself. No wonder then that Timantoni determines to devote the few years of his stay in Paris entirely to the service of forlorn lovers. From his present pupil he has obtained a gold watch and he is easily convinced that the whole procedure is not essentially dishonest. We have seen a similar line of conduct adopted by music teachers from Italy. We are therefore to conclude that these imported teachers, in appearance perfectly virtuous, in language even more so, are generally not averse to the personal confiscation of property for their profit. They also seem to take a lively interest in the amorous welfare of their pupils, and it is in this department that their services are especially appreciated.

Italian physicians also had their vogue in France. The psychology of this preference for foreign medical ability is slightly explained by DESPORTES. One of his characters, Trivelin, in referring to doctors, says:⁸ "Il en est de ces messieurs comme des étoffes, des porcelaines, et des curiosités, plus elles viennent de loin & plus cher on les paye." Rhu-barbini, the doctor in question, has sensibly fallen in love with a rich French widow, and in a most eloquent flow of scientific language he pleads his cause with her (sc. 12):

. . . jusqu'à quand voulez-vous différer de mettre un baume spécifique aux vives blessures que m'ont fait vos appas?

⁸ *La Veuve Coquette* (1721), *Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 2, Scene 1.

L'amour qui circule dans mes veines enflamme tellement mes poulmons qu'il n'y a que l'hémétique de vos faveurs qui puisse guérir la fièvre dont brûle mon cœur.

This gallant disciple of Hippocrates is thus made to analyze in ludicrous fashion his disorders of love and to insist on immediate relief, medically speaking.

A more enchanting character than even the teacher or the doctor is the Italian beggar. He wanders away from native climes dazzled by visions of Parisian favors; or his brother, whom fortune has befriended in Paris, calls him unto himself to share French bounty. This is the case, of course, with Arlequin senior,⁹ who invites his brother to leave Bergamo and take service with his own master in Paris. Arlequin junior arrives, is unable to locate the other member of his family, and wanders about tired and hungry, but cheerful. He says to himself (sc. 5):

Allons, du courage; peut-être ferai-je fortune ici; je montrerai l'italien, je sais jouer de la guitare; voilà de quoi se pousser dans le monde. D'ailleurs j'ai ouï-dire qu'en France on préfère toujours quelqu'un de médiocre quand il est étranger, à un homme de mérite qui n'est que du pays.

He is immensely consoled by the fact that he is a foreigner.

His reference to French recognition of talents and abilities of other countries is undoubtedly a compliment to the French. They had, after all, the literary center of the world and they inevitably attracted spirits that were free to wander from their own

⁹ FLORIAN, *Les Jumeaux de Bergame* (1782).

countries. Paris was a great cosmopolitan city and was visited for inspiration by people from the ends of the earth,—Turks, Norwegians, and Canadians. To be sure, the civilized world was not a big one. But the French always graciously received their visitors and gave credit to Italians where it was due. As FAVART puts it:¹⁰

En Italie on voit des monumens parfaits;

And again when his character La Hire pleads with the pretty damsels, Marton and Robinette, to stay (I, 5):

Nous trouvons tous les deux vos charmes enchanteurs;
Nous nous y connoissons, nous revenons de Rome,
Et nous sommes deux amateurs.

These Frenchmen, on their return from Rome, had apparently brought with them an increased amateur's appreciation for womanly beauty. This is perhaps a natural result, though credit does seem to be partly due in this case to the visitors. But MADAME DE GENLIS in *Le Voyageur* shows us an even more interesting memento brought from Rome by the young Vicomte de Melville. He has in his possession an Italian miniature, described as follows (I, 1):

. . c'est la copie d'une sainte Cécile qui est au Capitole. Mais en France nous donnons à cette tête le nom d'une grande dame napolitaine; et je te réponds que ce ne sera pas la première miniature venue des pays lointains sous un nom supposé.

¹⁰ *La Fée Urgèle* (1765), Act 1, Scene 4.

In these artistic flatteries, we can readily see the basis of a true appreciation of the Italian spirit of beauty, although in our light farces we can hardly expect sound disquisitions on classic art. We can gather by this harvest of scintillating and comic references that Frenchmen thought of Italians as teachers of sculpture, music, and painting. Perhaps Italians did other things too. Let us see among some of our other characters those who represented different types of occupation.

II — LESSER FOLK; ARLEQUIN

To be sure, even the French mind conceives the truth that not all Italians are teachers of music, language, and art. There are plain folk as well, and bankers and traders and corsairs too. These appear throughout the century in various ways but not with great frequency. Of course we cannot expect to meet with any Catholic priests as stage figures, but the inimitable LESAGE does not hesitate to speak his mind about them in indirect ways. In his *Une Journée des Parques*, the three sister Fates are busily cutting life threads when they come to Roman church officials. These they tear away violently from their prebendaries. Presently Clotho presents another thread to her sister's scissors, with the remark:

Coupez ce fil; c'est celui d'un ecclésiastique des plus patelins qu'il y ait dans le séminaire; l'hypocrite a si bien fait qu'on l'a nommé à une abbaye considérable: il a déjà envoyé son argent à Rome pour payer ses bulles; elles sont en chemin: faisons disparaître monsieur l'abbé avant qu'elles arrivent.

This may not illustrate the popular thought about the priesthood, and it may not apply to the Italian priesthood especially, but it is an emanation concerning the Roman church from the pen of a great writer and thinker, and deserves consideration.

Another rather vague character is the Italian *bourgeois*. He appears as the true ruler of his family, disposing of his sons and daughters at his pleasure and arranging their marriages with enviable freedom. GUEULETTE shows us the type in Alberti, father of Léo.¹¹ The son is unwilling to marry Henriette, the girl his father has selected. Alberti is capable of tremendous rage; so it is not by mere opposition that he can be won over to his son's point of view. It will take deception to do that,—which suggests the reflection that it is queer that the Italian father always is outwitted by the trickery of the young. In this case, Flaminia, a French girl, the truly beloved of Léo, has simply to disguise herself as a tutor and to offer her services to Alberti, who is very glad of an opportunity to teach his son better behavior. When the deception is discovered, the lovers have to be married, since they have been living together under the same roof in the intimacy that teacher and pupil may enjoy. Alberti, like the typical father, forgives, and then proceeds in the same high-handed way to arrange a marriage for his daughter with the first wealthy man he can lay hands on.

Cases of intermarriage between French and Italians are frequent in our plays. In addition to the instance just considered, CARMONTELLE shows us a

¹¹ *L'Amour Précepteur, Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 5.

Frenchman who is reserving his daughter for a rich Venetian banker.¹² DORAT, AUTREAU, and BOINDIN also have comedies with heroes and heroines of the "international mind," matrimonially speaking.

Another interesting Italian character is the avaricious dotard, who far excels his French brother. We have heard of the fierce parsimony of the miser of *MOLIÈRE*, and of the cruelty of old bachelors of the stage who are planning to marry their young wards in order to keep their dowers. But what can equal the ferocity of Aldobrandin, an Italian miser, who in exchange for a house, grants Zima, the young lover of his ward Lucille, fifteen minutes talk with her, and then forbids her to answer a single word? To guard her more efficiently, he formulates these plans: ¹³

De plus, je veux faire accommoder cette maison à ma fantaisie; en retrancher exactement toutes les vues qu'elle a sur la place, n'y laisser de fenêtres que sur le jardin dont je ferai encore élever les murs le plus haut qu'il me sera possible.

One would conclude that this Italian miser, unlike the French, had not a single redeeming feature.

Not any more attractive is Pasquella,¹⁴ an old Italian duenna who keeps warm by means of liquor. One must not ask how Léo, a Roman merchant, can possibly employ such a person to take care of his two young daughters, Flaminia and Silvia. Their suitors however find it remarkably easy to get Pasquella out of the way. They give her plenty to

¹² *Le Chanteur Italien, Proverbes Dramatiques*, No. XXXVI.

¹³ HOUDART DE LA MOTTE, *Le Magnifique*, Act 1, Scene 1.

¹⁴ AUTREAU, *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718).

drink till she finally stumbles out, singing and shouting an Italian song (II, 4):

Chi non beve vita breve godera . . .
Da me ne gui col gli gli, col glu glu, e col glo

In general, one would gather from a reading of these plays that Italian servants were extremely impertinent. Arlequin is perfectly insufferable though his masters do not seem to notice it. In one play, Lisette,¹⁵ angered by her master's stupidity, finally pushes him off the stage, saying "Et moi, je vous croïois bien plus d'intelligence." In the same play Arlequin actually opposes his master's marriage until he gets a few ducats, which good fortune induces him to grant his consent. Of course such conduct is one of the natural prerogatives of Arlequin as a servant, and must not be taken as peculiarly Italian. He is, wherever he happens to be, the same impertinent braggart.

Besides Arlequin, Italians are not very much pictured away from their native land or from France. But we do meet two servants far removed. Calpigi¹⁶ serves as a eunuch in the harem of the great Atar, king of Ormus, on the Persian gulf. With him is an Italian woman, Spinette, who is employed by the dread potentate to induce rebellious beauties to be pliant to his wishes. To divert Atar, Calpigi thus recounts his adventures (III, 4):

Je suis né natif de Ferrare;
Là, par les soins d'un père avare,

¹⁵ *Les Quatre Semblables*, *Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 8.

¹⁶ BEAUMARCHAIS, *Tarare* (1787).

Mon chant s'étant fort embelli;
Ahi! povero Calpigi!
Je passai du Conservatoire,
Premier Chanteur à l'Oratoire
Du Souverain di Napoli:
Ah! bravo, Caro Calpigi!

He proceeds to relate how he had married a very famous *cantatrice* who nevertheless continued in spite of his remonstrances to live with other men; how finally he had determined to sell her to a corsair, who betrayed him by taking him captive and making his wife his own mistress.

Bientôt à travers la Lybie,
L'Egypte, l'Isthme et l'Arabie,
Il allait nous vendre au Sophi:
Ahi! povero Calpigi!

And so it turns out that Spinette is his wife, the independent lady in question. They form a lively pair, both in charge of Atar's harem. Calpigi is an honest servant and fearless. It is he more than any one else who contributes to the overthrow of the tyrannical sway of Atar.

By far the greatest traveler of all Italians, a character found wherever the imagination can reach, is, as we have hinted, Arlequin. His original Italian name is Arlecchino and he was born at Bergamo, a synthesis, as many would have it, of Greek satyrs and Roman clowns. With him, at about the same period, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there came into being Pantalone at Venice and Scapin at Naples. These clowns delighted all hearts for many years, and eventually spread their joyous pranks all

over Europe. In the seventeenth century, accompanied by his intimates, Pantalon, Trivelin, Mezzetin, Scaramouche, Isabelle, and the Doctor, Arlequin appeared in France and endeared himself forever to his laughing audiences. At first Italian actors assumed his part, Dominique, father and son, Constantini, the great Gherardi, Vincenti, and the marvelous Bertinazzi. The clown had the most important rôle, and play after play was turned out by both French and Italian authors to enable him to show off his innumerable pranks, his inexhaustible wit, and his laughable antics. He gradually loses the traces of his foreign origin, becomes more or less identified with his gay audience, and is eventually replaced by Pierrot, his French counterpart.

To study this clown and his family in detail,¹⁷ as they appear in our eighteenth century plays, would make a lively picture of fun and laughter, but it would not add much to our appreciation of Italian character. Arlequin is Italian only in his origin. As we watch him take his speedy flight amidst startling scenes and adventures, we realize more and more his super-national qualities. We meet him as a savage Indian from America, as a Dutch bell-ringer, a clown in the Polish court, a messenger for Spanish royalty, and even as an enchanted king of Naples. He figures prominently in Oriental plays; now he is a black slave in Bagdad, now a Turkish Hula or substitute-husband, later a deaf-mute Moor who is prince of Guinea, and again a king of Serendib in

¹⁷ An admirable and interesting account of their versatile and inventive genius can be found in WINIFRED SMITH'S *Commedia dell'Arte*, Columbia University Press (1912).

Madagascar. He rises to the supernatural when he poses as Mohammed before Tartars, or when he figures as an ass in Greece, or when he discourses upon love with Venus. His adventures do not end here, for PIRON uses him in his *Arlequin Deucalion* (1723) to outwit the jealous Comédie Française which had forbidden dialogue in the Italian Theater. Since the play had to be a monologue, PIRON has Arlequin figure as the only survivor of the Flood, stranded on Mt. Parnassus, and forced to address Apollo, Thalia, and Pegasus for the sake of talking to some one.

It is evident from all this, that our beloved Arlequin, a character modern, ancient, fabulous, and universal, is no mere man. He spreads his ridiculous and preternatural effulgence over the intimates of his funny family. That is why we cannot in this work take up in detail the amusing pranks of Scaramouche and Trivelin and Mezzetin. We can merely point out that, though once Italian, they had become international clowns.

III — THE CORSAIR AND ITALY

The Mediterranean Sea was infested with pirate-ships through many centuries. The pirates were generally Mohammedans from Algeria or Turkey. It was inevitable, however, that Italy, with all its seacoast towns, should produce men of roving disposition, men who were tempted by the dangers of the corsair's life and by its glittering rewards. These Italian seacoast towns, Ferrara, Ancona, Naples, and especially Venice, are vividly presented in French drama of the eighteenth century as places where the

peoples of the globe meet and mingle. So BOINDIN, in his *Le Port de Mer* (1704) which has its scene in Leghorn, gathers the following outlandish characters:

M. Sabatin,	Marchand Juif
Benjaminne,	sa Fille
M. Doutremer,	Armateur
Léandre,	son Neveu
La Saline,	Valet de Léandre
Hali,	Galérien Turc
Brigantin,	Galérien François
Deux Cantarines	
Deux Barcarolles	
Deux Australiennes	
Un Singe	

These singular characters are all harmoniously occupied side by side; and to show their cosmopolitan tastes they dance together in the *divertissement* at the end of the play, accompanied by Chinese music, the monkey fluently speaking Australian all the time.

According to these plays with their delightful sea-marauders, it was a peculiar but explicable habit of the Oriental pirates to visit Italian towns and carry off as their chief booty beautiful damsels to be presented to the various sultans, bachas, and sophis, their overlords. One is reminded of REGNARD (1655-1709), one of our dramatists, who in 1677 was himself captured by pirates while traveling from Italy and sold at Algiers. So we are not surprised to learn of the perilous adventures of a Venetian girl, now safely resting near Ravenna, but exposed long ago, when a small girl, to the honors of the sultan's harem. Trivelin thus recounts Flaminia's life:¹⁸

¹⁸ AUTREAU, *Les Amans Ignorans* (1720), Act 1, Scene 2.

. . . vous me dites qu'elle avait été enlevée sur nos côtes à l'âge de cinq ans, par le Corsaire Barnabera, qui trouva dès-lors que sa beauté promettoit beaucoup; que ce corsaire l'avait fait élever à Alger, auprès d'une esclave Française élevée comme elle, dont il avait fait sa femme favorite; que l'Italienne, devenue grande, il l'envoyoit à Constantinople, par présent au Grand-Seigneur; que le capitaine Mario, fils de Pantalon, s'étant emparé du vaisseau qui la portoit, en étoit devenu éperdûment amoureux; qu'il l'avoit fait conduire à Venise, en secret, et la cachoit à son père, dans le dessein de l'épouser.

Pirates do a thriving business in Italy and are constantly heard of. It is indeed a profitable trade but it is resorted to for reasons other than the economic one. HOUDART DE LA MOTTE in his *Calendrier des Vieillards* shows us an Italian from Tarento, Pagamin by name, who disguises himself as a Turkish pirate in order to frighten his uncle Quinzica into consenting to his marriage with the loving Galandi. Pagamin is, however, a pirate by profession, not merely by disguise; and his servant, Sbrigani, is therefore opposed to his marriage on a common-sense basis. He urges (I, 1):

Mais qu'un Coureur de mers, qui ne vit que de guerre et d'enlèvemens, qui roule toujours dans sa tête quelque entreprise, & qui ne connoît l'amour que par les contributions qu'il lève sur de pauvres amis, devienne lui-même un époux en règle, & s'expose aux représailles . . .

The prospect pains Sbrigani.

We have thus far been brought, through the interesting medium of French dramatists of the eighteenth century, to a hasty glimpse of certain aspects of Italian life. We have seen their wandering artists

and teachers, bankers, merchants, fathers and sons, a miser, a duenna, servants. We have also caught a glimpse of their seacoast populations. We are now to get a glance in a similar manner at the way French imagination pictures Italian lovers.

IV — ITALIAN LOVERS

When we speak of lovers in plays, we naturally include not only the actual characters but also their thoughts on love and married life. Since from the ordinary point of view love is synonymous with girlhood and youth, it is right to include also thoughts expressed by French dramatists on Italian girls. Of the latter there are, as is to be expected, all kinds and some unexpected types too. But, in general, they are not what PIRON makes Lisette out to be:¹⁹

Une idole du Nord, une froide femelle
Qui voudrait qu'on parlât, que l'on pensât pour elle.

Lisette is certainly not a usual Italian girl.

The Italian maiden, like her sisters in other nations, is trained to marry, and when the age for it arrives, between sixteen and eighteen, she takes for granted the necessity of a change in her mode of life. HOUDART DE LA MOTTE shows us an unusual exception in Clarice, who says:²⁰

Me voilà dans l'âge où l'amant amuse, où le mari généroit.
Je vous l'avoûrai de bonne foi, tout me plaît dans l'amant;
s'il est commode je ne le trouve que complaisant: s'il est jaloux, je ne le sens qu'amoureux. Tout au contraire d'un

¹⁹ *La Métromanie* (1738), Act 1, Scene 2.

²⁰ *Minutolo* (1705), Scene 5.

mari; s'il étoit commode, je me croirois négligée; s'il étoit jaloux, il me paraîtroit un tyran.

But this girl with her common-sense view of such relationship is a delicious exception to the rule. Most of her sisters are, alas! unwise and unwitting in their knowledge of men and of men's peculiarities. AUTREAU conveys the impression that this ignorance is due to their training. He condemns their education as of the convent kind. His Flaminia,²¹ a product of this system, sees its defects. She argues that as a test of virtue it fails, because it forces girls to be virtuous. There is no glory in that goodness which is forced upon one. She sums it up (I, 8):

Ont-elles le mérite d'avoir conservé leur honneur, quand on en donne le soin à d'autres qu'à elles?

This clearly points out one of the controlling motives in Italian education for girls — the desire to maintain their virtue for them.

Though the convent as an instrument of education was a thriving institution in France, richly maintained by a vast aristocracy unwilling to be bothered with its young daughters, nevertheless to the intellectual Frenchman, and the dramatist may be called such, the whole system tended toward the production of a very conventional type of girlhood that was especially annoying in Italy. Precepts of decent behavior between men and women in Italian cities, in Turin, for example, bore the visiting Frenchman to death. He flashes into that city, with the words:²²

²¹ *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718).

²² DORAT, *Le Chevalier Français à Turin* (1778), Act 1, Scene 3.

Je viens, j'arrive ici, plein de projets brillans,
 Courant après l'amour et les enchantemens.

What does he find? A set of soul-destroying conventions. He says sadly:

. . . malgré moi je me plie
 Au cérémonial de leur galanterie,
 A ce culte gênant et superstitieux,
 Au costume bizarre adopté dans ces lieux.
 Rigide observateur des loix qu'on y réclame
 Je me suis chamarré des couleurs de ma Dame;
 J'imite ces Héros, qui, toujours, en tout bien,
 Se battaient pour la leur, sans lui parler de rien.

The process, however, proves too tedious for the Chevalier and he seeks with Gallic wit to abbreviate the ardors of a long campaign.

Italian lovers are much more patient. Nothing could exceed the indulgence of even the dread potentate of Lombardy, King Astolphe.²³ Although engaged to Emilie, he capriciously falls in love with Ninette, a graceful peasant girl. Colas, her lover, has offended her by a show of violence; to punish him she goes off with the king, who tries to win her by his royal splendors. Yet her heart longs for Colas. Astolphe never resorts to his sovereign power to force his attentions and so plays no dignified part in trying to woo Ninette away from her peasant. But, as he says democratically (I, 2):

Qu'importe le sang dont on sort?
 Une belle est toujours au-dessus de son sort.

Again and again he urges Ninette to reflect, to compare him with Colas and acknowledge his superior-

²³ FAVART, *Le Caprice Amoureux* (1756).

ity. Clownishly, he finally yields when he sees her heart is obdurately set for her first love. This awkward king inspires the reflection that the author, FAVART, did not have far to seek in selecting a court that he could ridicule *ad libitum*. It is interesting to realize that this imaginary Lombardian royal circle, in spite of the proximity of Lombardy to France, could be staged with all this buffoonery, without giving offence.

Since Italian lovers are patient wooers, are we to conclude that their women do not, because of their stern set of conventions, convent-made and church maintained, live in accordance with their prevailing southern reputation? Rose, an impertinent maid to an Italian marquise, reflects that love finds a way everywhere,²⁴ if there is love:

Le cœur n'est nulle part dupe des convenances;
 Ce n'est que pour les sots que sont ces différences.
 Eh! qu'importent l'usage, et la mode et le goût?
 Indépendent des lieux, l'amour propre est partout.
 En dépit de la Duègne, ou d'un Argus avare,
 En Espagne, il s'éveille au son de la guitare;
 A Londres, une ardeur sombre et des feux patiens,
 Flattant l'orgueil des Miss, leur font courir les champs.

Rose certainly ought to know better than we; hence we conclude that Italian women, as well as those of other countries, surmounted on occasions the difficulties of conventions.

It is uncomfortably true that young girls bred in convents were wonderfully wise about love and life almost before they left their shelter, although, in their conduct with men, they showed by their awk-

²⁴ DORAT, *Le Chevalier Français à Turin* (1778), Act 1, Scene 3.

wardness a pitiful lack of experience. AUTREAU clearly pictures the first meeting between the unsophisticated Flaminia and a French gentleman.²⁵ The latter assures her of the sincere respect she merits, and she answers: "Vous nous faites bien de l'honneur, Monsieur; nous ne méritons pas tant de respect. . . ." Then she runs off feeling that she has said something foolish. But this same girl, with all her *gaucherie*, has already spoken about love, its varied aspects in different countries, and its true meaning, in a way that would do credit to a lady twice her age.^{26a} She has analyzed the passion so wittily that one has to believe the convent has afforded opportunities for thought on the problem.

JOLLY has a play which he names *La Femme Jalouse* (1726). She is an Italian and the worst virago imaginable. RICCOBONI furnished the plot and it is pardonable to conclude that this great Italian actor was somewhat familiar with the type. Flaminia is intensely jealous. She is constantly quarreling with everybody, especially with her husband. She threatens to poison his servant, Arlequin, and shouts every one off the stage.

In another play ²⁶ an Italian lover, Mata by name, reveals the key to the favors of Italian women of Turin:

On est drôle à Turin! Il faut, j'en ris dans l'âme,
Raffoler du mari, pour attendre la femme.

This is rather ambiguous. It might mean that a woman of Turin wants others to admire her husband

²⁵ *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718), Act 2, Scene 6.

^{26a} See page 317.

²⁶ DORAT, *Le Chevalier Français à Turin* (1778), Act 1, Scene 4.

whom she loves, or wants a friendship to exist between her husband and her lover. But we are not allowed to doubt the fidelity of Italian women. In the play in question,²⁶ the countess encourages the chevalier merely through jealousy of a rival; yet, sustained by her inbred sense of what is proper, she remains unswervingly faithful to her husband. The count, her husband, has no fear for his wife, and trusts his townswomen in general perfectly (II, 2):

Nos femmes ont des mœurs; leurs modestes Amants
Tiennent leur éventail, ou ramassent leurs gants,
Et c'est tout . . . Ce n'est pas comme dans votre France.

To the French chevalier this condition of affairs is of course intolerable. Love in Italy seems a mighty sad affair. He says to the Countess (III, 2):

Votre sexe, autre part, après quelques soupirs,
Veut des Adorateurs, et non pas des Martyrs.
Si l'on aime, on espère; ici, c'est autre chose.
Le cœur n'atteint jamais le but qu'il se propose.
Votre incroyable amour, aux langueurs condamné,
A toujours, par respect, un air infortuné.

In Paris love has its reward the next day. To account for this interesting difference we have to catch but a little of the French spirit of the eighteenth century. When we add to this understanding the evident restraining influence of religion in Italy, we come to feel that our dramatists have seized the salient facts in the struggle between the conventional and the free expression of love in the home of Catholicism.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

While it is true that devotion in that distant epoch was the business of women, yet Italian lovers too, and even husbands, sometimes appear to have a few particular characteristics which brand them as of that nation. DESTOUCHES sums all these qualities up in an unfinished play, *Le Vindictif*. The sketch of the plot shows us that an international marriage, a French wife and an Italian husband, may end unhappily. In this case the burden of the blame is placed by the author on the husband:²⁷

Oubliez-vous qu'il est de race italienne,
 Jaloux par conséquent, jour et nuit attentif,
 Fin, rusé, défiant, surtout vindictif?
 Ne pardonnant jamais la plus légère offense,
 Il feint de l'oublier pour en tirer vengeance;
 C'est son plus doux penchant, son péché favori,
 Et vous devez tout craindre avec un tel mari.

A veritable devil of a husband, one might say. But what nation lacks them? The French lady in question ignores his fits and goes her even way, perfectly free.

Enfin je suis Françoise, et je hais l'esclavage.

Apparently the struggle between the two has never ended, for unfortunately DESTOUCHES did not finish the play.

It is natural to conclude after this general view of Italian types so conventional and ordinary, as they appeared to the eyes of the French playwrights, that Italy hardly figures at all dramatically in France. The two countries were pretty familiarly associated

²⁷ From one of two short unfinished scenes.

during the eighteenth century. Neither seems far away to the other and exchanges were constant. Travelers knitted the ties closer and bankers and merchants had correspondents everywhere. Italy is not a country, therefore, which the French mind constructs imaginatively. It is a country heard, seen, and known. Actors brought its people, its life, objectively before the public, in spite of the fact that realism in their work was at a low ebb. The great art-treasures naturally drew young Frenchmen into Italy, as they do to-day. We might feel that the seacoast towns with their adventurous populations furnished creative opportunities for the imaginative French mind. But with a few exceptions there is nothing overdrawn from the dramatic point of view in what we have seen. Only once in that whole century of plays do we come across a magic object in Italy, a ring that assures its wearer of food and lodging every evening.²⁸ It is also to be remarked that French vision of Italian neighbors was not distorted by untoward political relations. Through that long eventful period from 1715 to 1789 when France was successively embroiled with Spain, Prussia, Austria, England, Holland, and Russia, her political affiliations with the Italian cities and kingdoms remained sane and safe. There is a tremendous stretch of years between the invasion of Charles VIII of France in 1494 and the Napoleonic campaigns of 1796 and 1797. In these three centuries of peace Frenchmen had come to know Italians without the inimical influence that national rivalries exert.

²⁸ HOUDART DE LA MOTTE, *Le Talisman* (1704).

V — LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS

The collection of eighteenth century plays which contain Italian characters would show a very poor literary achievement as a whole. This may be due in part to a lack of interest in Italian life, resulting in a series of uninspired writings. It is probably caused rather by the lack of great dramatic authors.

One of the most obtrusive and unpleasant facts about these plays is the pitiful lack of plot. The same defect might also be termed a superabundance of plot. It results in a play which, in lieu of real characters, has constant activities and interrelationships which become in a short while annoying and confusing to the reader. Diagrammatically this idea may be illustrated by a series of lines running from each person in the play to every other person, with intersections and deviations as many as you please. As we have seen, even the servants Arlequin and Spinette take a great part in the direction of their masters' activities. Hardly a play without its disguises, men becoming women and vice versa. The net result is an impenetrable imbroglio which LA HARPE calls distinctively Italian.

In one case ²⁹ it is the girl who, disguising herself as a tutor, introduces herself into her lover's house in a distant city, all the time pursued by her uncle, and finally convinces her lover's father of the folly of not consenting to their marriage. In another work ³⁰ it is the husband who so effectively conceals his friend from the rage of an enemy that he mys-

²⁹ GUEULETTE, *L'Amour Précepteur* (1726), *Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 5.

³⁰ JOLLY, *La Femme Jalouse* (1726), *Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, Vol. 6.

tifies even his own wife, who suspects a rival. Then follows a whole play based on this misconception, a play that is hardly readable, that makes use of harmless characters to mystify the puzzled reader even further. There is always concealment of the perfectly simple in order to produce this sense of bewilderment which is the life of the play. The more bewildered the characters are, the more truly Italian the comedy; until we reach a sort of climax in one of BIANCOLELLI's plays, called *Les Quatre Semblables*. This is a Frenchified *Comedy of Errors* with the scene at Naples, with Arlequins for the two Dromios and for the Antipholi two Lélios.

A very important reason for this stress on plot rather than on characters lies in the characters themselves. Consult any list of *Personnages*. We find almost always Lelio or Mario and Arlequin, Flaminia or Silvia and Spinette. The very names, worn threadbare, had cast an impenetrable pall over the use of imagination. These puppets could be made to follow certain complicated moves of intrigue and plot, but of life they had none. Lelio is any one of a hundred young lovers, ready to die for his mistress but always marrying her at the end of the play. Sometimes the contagion spreads as in AUTREAU's *L'Amante Romanesque* (1718) and everybody in the play gets married.

To dissipate the weariness of the insipid plot Arlequin is often commanded to perform all sorts of tricks or *lazzi*. He thus turns quickly from servant into clown. He also furnishes amusement by the trials and tribulations of his love for Spinette. In *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718), AUTREAU goes even

further and introduces in the play a German count, a provincial liar, a clownish hotel-keeper, a drunken duenna, and a Chinese doctor. A cosmopolitan conglomerate of this sort would make any audience sit up. This particular play is of historic interest because it was the first play in French given by the Italian actors. Some of the characters still speak Italian, so that a confusion of languages is added to that which already exists.

The piratical plot of the seacoast towns is even more terribly involved, since occasion for disguise is greater. In BOINDIN'S *Le Port de Mer* (1704), Léandre, to win entrance to the house of his beloved Benjamine, disguises himself and his valet as black slaves sent to her father from Smyrna. To help him, Brigantin also disguises himself as a woman. Since Sabatin, the father, a Jewish merchant, prefers the pirate Doutremer to Léandre, the lover concocts the scheme of getting the disguised Brigantin to tell Sabatin that he, or rather she, is the thirteenth wife of Doutremer, and that the latter has sold all the others into slavery. The scheme does not work and necessitates a construction of another even more elaborate.

Many of the ideas that regulated and guided our French dramatists in these chaotic plays were borrowed from Italian writers and, as we have seen, Italians themselves suggested these plots and also wrote plays which they acted. DESTOUCHES discusses the question of borrowing in a letter to the Chevalier de B . . . , his dramatic pupil. He is lecturing him on the title of a play:³¹

³¹ *Œuvres de Destouches*, Ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1811, Vol. 5.

Je ne veux point du tout que vous la nommiez 'L'Italien Marié à Paris': car j'ai ouï-dire que les Italiens avaient traité ce sujet, et il serait très honteux pour nous, que nous leur dérobaissions un titre. Laissons-les en possession de leurs richesses fragiles, et n'établons rien qui ne soit puisé dans une source pure.

But DESTOUCHES himself broke this excellent dictate in his *Le Tambour Nocturne* which he brought almost bodily from the English by ADDISON, simply changing a few phrases here and there and renaming the characters. Shall we then blame the lesser inspirations of poorer dramatists?

It is interesting, finally, to note that with only one exception all Italian characters speak excellent French. The exception is of course a teacher of Italian and his peculiarities are his vowels. He says:³² "Servitour très houbble, Mademیسelle. Je vous prie de m'excuser si je viens un po piou tard qu'à l'ordinario; ma j'ai depouis avant-hier trois nouveaux accoliers. . . ." Later he recommends a fellow countryman in this funny wise: "Il entend les langues, la philosophia, l'architectoura, la scoultura, la mousique, la peintoura. Il sera ici dans demi-houra."

FAVART avoids the question of pronunciation in many of his plays by making his Italian characters speak their native tongue. But in his *La Parodie au Parnasse* (1759) Crispin cannot avoid imitating the sounds he has just heard Pantalon pronounce. Pantalon says to the allegorical figure, l'Industrie (sc. 5): "Ah! cara mia Deita de vu son inamorao; per tutto vu cercao e no mai piu vu trovao." Crispin utters dismally: "Miao, miao."

³² DU VAURE, *Le Faux Savant* (1728), Act 1, Scene 1.

In general, it is fair to conclude that this lack of Italian mispronunciation of French indicates that there was in reality very little of it. The same fact is to be remarked regarding Spaniards. With Englishmen and Germans the case is very different and it is easy to understand why. It is interesting to realize so vividly at this advanced date in our philosophical development that these linguistic phenomena we now so carefully analyze and trace were just as prevalent in the eighteenth century. Accordingly our dramatists remarked, with no particular wonder at it, that linguistically Italians and Spaniards were the brothers of Frenchmen. Hence our Italians speak admirable French in a most natural way, whereas those of Teutonic origin do not.

There is hardly any attempt at scenic description, "*en Italie*" being the usual indication of the whereabouts of the action. Venice, too, is frequently assigned as the locality of the intrigue. Yet this vagueness of place fits in perfectly with the lack of detail in character and plot, and, as we turn away from these Italian plays, we do so with a realization of their essential farcical nature, their futility, and their unreal atmosphere. If any of these comedies furnish interesting reading, it certainly is not due to the plot or character. It is rather a quality that is inherent in French literature. It is wit, ability, flexibility in expression, and alertness. It is what a Frenchman might term "*esprit*," an untranslatable word.

It is the more politically vital peoples of the continent that draw the eyes of our French dramatists of the eighteenth century.

THE SPANISH

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THE SPANISH

THE history of Spain in the eighteenth century is the history of a country whose great day has passed. In the clashes of nations she figures passively in the first fifteen years of that long period and then, as if exhausted by her measure of historic grandeur, she droops into the oblivion of an unimportant ally or neutral. Thus she remains, administratively inefficient, dreaming of her vivid past, a semi-Oriental nation in her abstraction from the European present. Towards the end of the century, influenced by her king, Charles III, and his anti-English tendency, she regains a certain contact with European politics; but her domestic policy had rapidly changed the character of her people and fortunately unfitted them for war. Her possessions in America might have made her a power to be reckoned with had these not soon adopted the example set by the English colonists in their war for independence. The whole century stands out therefore prominently for Spain as a period of spoliation, decline, and political insignificance.

This slow severance from the great members of the European family has its inevitable literary effects. The Iberian peninsula loses its existence in reality and soon becomes connected with legendary associations or semi-historic creations. It is once more imaginatively peopled by Moors, and their fair pal-

aces rise renewed. Or we have, reborn in pristine vigor, the jealousies of Aragon and Castile, with Leon to complete the triangle. Like Italy, another of France's southern neighbors cut off from her by mountains, Spain is invested in a glory of romance, not so artistic as the Italian, but nevertheless possessing its quaint charm of ancient wonder. She becomes a country of impossible lovers, of fatal duels, of royal scions traveling incognito, of errant knights with Quixotic vision. While the rest of Europe was blighted by war, she remained a sunny oasis, a seeming evergreen beneath whose sheltering arms flourished ancient love and honor, and prospered mysterious quests.

Invested in this glamour as she has become, it is almost with a shock that we turn from literature to history to find that at the outset of the eighteenth century, Spain, with her new Bourbon king, Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV of France, created an upheaval in the balance of power. France and Spain, of kindred blood and now royally united, were too strong a combination for the rest of the world to permit. England, Austria, the Protestant Netherlands, the German States, even Savoy and Portugal, all united in dragging the unhappy Philip of Anjou from his gilded seat. He was saved by the fact that the candidate of the Allies, Archduke Charles of Austria, second son of Emperor Leopold I, suddenly inherited his father's scepter. To give him now the Spanish throne was undesirable from the "balanced point of view." So Philip V of Spain was allowed to retain his place, and his country paid dearly for the privilege of having him. The Treaty of Utrecht

(1713) deprived her of nearly half her European territories, and the period of her impotence was fully upon her.

Under Elizabeth Farnese of Parma, Spain, like a candle that flares up before its final extinction, figures once more as a disturbing element. The queen, ambitious for her sons, realized an opportunity in the death of the great monarch of France in 1715. Her Italian minister, Alberoni, served her well, but he was outwitted by Dubois, the minister of the French regent. A compact between the anti-Jesuitic Philip of Orleans and George I of England tied Spain's hands, and her visionary projects for expansion died with Alberoni's dismissal in 1719. By 1720 this faint ripple on the surface had completely quieted down and Dubois turned his attention to the Austrian giant, aiming to tame him into friendliness.

Politically, during the rest of the century, the Spanish lack of strength nullifies the nation's influence. Yet there is this interesting fact to gather from her general international relations. Because of the English occupation of Gibraltar and Minorca, Spain was instinctively opposed to England. The same opposition was one of the features of French policy. It follows that Spain and France were mutually drawn together by a recognition of the value of union against the common enemy. The result was a feeling of friendliness between the two countries, encouraged by the fact of kinship and evidenced by such pacts as those of 1733 and 1761. This sympathetic relationship was especially strengthened under Charles III in the second half of the century,

when Spain went so far as to help France in supporting the American revolutionists. We are therefore not surprised to find traces of this interchanging influence penetrating the French comedy of the century.

I — HISTORIC SPAIN

VOLTAIRE, even VOLTAIRE, produced a play for the pleasure and amusement of the French king. Although he was rewarded by the grant of a position as court historian, yet the play¹ is an insipid piece of work. It was made at the order of Louis XV, for whom VOLTAIRE confesses² he had turned "bouffon à cinquante ans, embarrassé avec les musiciens, décorateurs, comédiens, chanteurs, danseurs, etc." In fact he did not even choose the subject, the romantic story of a Spanish princess. Referring to "M. le duc de Richelieu, premier gentilhomme de la chambre," he says:² "Il a choisi le lieu de la scène sur les frontières de la Castille et il en a fixé l'époque sous le roi de France Charles V, prince juste, sage, et heureux, contre lequel les Anglais ne purent prévaloir; qui secourut la Castille et qui lui donna un monarque." Accordingly we find pictured in this play Spanish life of the fourteenth century, the plot having an historical nucleus in the fact that about 1370 Du Guesclin led a group of unemployed soldiers across the Pyrenees and captured the Castilian throne as a gift for Henry of Trastamara, a loyal vassal to Charles V. It is doubtful whether such a play can have real value for a study which has

¹ *La Princesse de Navarre* (1745).

² In the preface to the play.

the eighteenth century for its field. But the play is illustrative of the French romantic idealization of the Spanish past. We find the princess of Navarre tyrannically deprived of her throne and a fugitive from a barbarous uncle. What more natural than for a gallant French duke to disguise himself as a Spaniard and eventually succeed in restoring the princess to her rights. Incidentally our hero falls in love with her; and he manages with infinite dexterity the double task of reducing his enemies with a small army, and the more delicate one of overcoming the princess's repugnance to his love. The duke is extremely well disguised, for even the Navarrese lady does not realize that her lover is of another nation. She sees, of course, that he is polite, graceful, that he has in his appearance "un je ne sais quoi de noble, de fier."³ Needless to say that the Frenchman wins her love, and by his marriage, ties closer the bonds which unite the two countries.

This reference to Spain and her historic connection with France seems more ancient to us now than it did to VOLTAIRE when he wrote the play in 1745. Characteristic, however, and almost modern is the way it shows us the French lover so successful in his amorous enterprise in a foreign land. We find again⁴ the same power over the fair sex exercised by a Frenchman, this time with both a Spanish and an English rival to dispute his possession. In 1756 the French captured Port-Mahon, capital of the Mediterranean island Minorca, a strategic point possessed since about 1712 by the English, who had taken it

³ Act 1, Scene 1.

⁴ FAVART, *Le Mariage par Escalade* (1756).

from the Spanish. FAVART celebrated the occasion by a play in which his heroine is a Port-Mahon girl, practically Spanish, called Elvire. Tomson, an English officer, tyrannically orders her to marry him. Carlos, "bourgeois de Mahon," a gentle lover, plans to save her by running away with her. He comes with his ladder that night; but Valère, a French captive, uses it to reach Elvire's room while Carlos and Tomson are both fighting outside. At this juncture the island is captured by the French, and Valère, now free, has little difficulty in convincing Elvire that he is an extremely desirable and desirous lover. FAVART, struck by the rather ridiculous rôle his Carlos plays, hastens to remark in a footnote on the page with his list of characters:

On n'a point prétendu faire allusion par le personnage de Carlos à la nation Espagnole, dont la galanterie, la valeur et la générosité ont toujours fait le caractère distinctif.

It is well to note these three nouns, so intimately associated by FAVART with the Spanish people. It is essentially these romantic qualities that strike the French mind; and where is it more natural to look for them than in a nation's past—when a nation has no present? One cannot help realizing then that to the Frenchman of the eighteenth century Spain is still a country intimately associated with his own historically. He dreams of her past and of the adventures the daring ones of his own nation have had within her borders. Only, he does not see her as a united country, but as a land composed of rival kingdoms—Leon, Castile, Aragon, Barcelona. There seems to be constant warfare among these impor-

tant constituencies and this necessitates all sorts of royal alliances in order to cement the peace. These marriages always end in true love, unless a Frenchman interferes, in which case he invariably carries off the bride.

Unlike ordinary matches which are arranged for the prospective lovers by their parents, the royal princes and princesses of Aragon and Castile and the other kingdoms pictured in our plays never seem to have encumbering fathers or mothers. We have already noticed this enviable freedom on the part of the princess of Navarre. We see it again in MARI-VAUX'S *Le Prince Travesti* (1724). L  lio, an unknown soldier, gains the favor of the princess of Barcelona by his conspicuous bravery. She eventually falls in love with him and woos him in a human if not majestic manner. Unfortunately L  lio loves Hortense, a girl as unknown as himself. The enraged princess soon has them both in her power, but their love softens her and she yields them to each other. It is then that we discover that L  lio and Hortense are none other than the prince of Leon and the princess of Castile respectively. They have been traveling incognito, apparently for the sake of the experience. But to take the flattering word of those about them, their disguise is very thin indeed, since royalty shows so plainly in their faces. Sometimes these kingly scions leave their palaces avowedly with the purpose of contracting alliances with neighboring powers. Undying loves are oft created by the sight of a miniature, and this spontaneous love is usually seconded by reasons of state. A disguise immediately becomes necessary for the projected

journey into the loved one's kingdom, and the result is a marriage after the usual intrigue and mystery have been experienced. It is well to note that the erotic strain of these adventures relegates reasons of state to a secondary place. How far this is from historic truth none may tell, for love between royal pairs is a subject upon which but few data may be had.

VOLTAIRE, as we have seen, has an errant princess in Constance of Navarre.⁵ She is therefore in disguise, yet because of her halo of royalty no one is deceived. All who approach her see its unmistakable glint about her.

Elle paraît bien née;
La vertu, la noblesse éclate en ses regards.

She is typically Spanish even in her hatreds. Naturally she abominates her tyrannous uncle who has so rudely deprived her of her throne. She hates the French duke, her lover, though she has never seen him, because her family and his have always been at odds. Like all oppressed princesses, she has one recourse (I, 1):

Je vais dans un couvent tranquille,
Loin de Gaston, loin des combats.
Cette nuit trouver un asile.

It must not be imagined, however, that we are always forced to travel in order to follow up these stirring adventures of Spanish royalty. Sometimes the whole affair happens at home; and this gives us an opportunity of studying at our leisure the essen-

⁵ *La Princesse de Navarre* (1745).

tial component parts of an historic Spanish court. We have of course the king, young and unmarried; then perhaps some princess in disguise who is after his heart. The never-failing prime minister figures prominently, with perhaps a rival for his power. A confidante for the wandering royal daughter, or, if for a prince, the valet Arlequin, completes the sanctified circle.

DESTOUCHES pictures an ideal little court for us in his *L'Ambitieux et l'Indiscrète* (1737). We have first of all the king of Castile, clement and just, a trifle weak in judgment because of his youth, and prone to falling in love for the same reason. It is said of him (I, 4):

Prince plein de bonté, de vertu, de courage,
Discret, sage, prudent, à la fleur de son âge,
Captivant les esprits par des attraits vaineurs,
Et formé par le Ciel pour régner sur les Cœurs.

Then comes the king's unscrupulous favorite courtier (I, 2):

Toujours rêveur, toujours formant quelque projet,
Accablé de bienfaits, et jamais satisfait.
Pour s'élever sans cesse, il met tout en pratique;
L'amour même en son cœur cède à sa politique.
Car c'est un courtisan plein de manège et d'art,
Dont l'air et les discours sont parés d'un beau fard.

One cannot feel that there is any prejudice in this description of the Spanish courtier; rather does one perceive how he tallies with his French brother.

The other important component of this Spanish royal coterie is the prime minister. As in this play, he is generally a scholar, a man who was born for

the quiet of the recluse and not for the clashes of court-life. DESTOUCHES sketches him thus (I, 2):

Pour un premier ministre, il n'a pas l'âme fière;
 . . . Content, de bonne humeur,
 Prévenant, gracieux, sans faste, sans hauteur,
 N'ayant d'autre intérêt que l'intérêt du maître,
 Et toujours occupé, sans jamais le paraître.

He is generally a faithful servant to the state though he falls into and out of power with amazing rapidity.

Another interesting element, though not always present, is found in the *intrigante* of the Spanish court. In DESTOUCHES's play, she happens to be the prime minister's wife. Her unlucky husband says of her (I, 4):

Depuis près de trois ans qu'elle vit à la cour,
 Elle a pris tant de goût pour ce brillant séjour,
 Qu'elle en perd la raison, et se rend ridicule.

.

Son indiscrétion va jusques à l'excès.
 Curieuse, empressée, elle veut tout apprendre;
 Et tout ce qu'elle sait, elle va le répandre.

It is rather evident that the French dramatist who tried to picture these important components of a Spanish court had no difficulties as far as an efficient model goes. We easily recognize in the foregoing features of an historic court lady a complete faithfulness to the vivid personalities of the contemporary French court. DESTOUCHES even goes so far as to admit that he found it easy to sketch the fine character of the prime minister because he had

a splendid living model in Fleury.⁶ We must therefore make allowance for this inevitable and almost unconscious mingling of the writer's environment with the bygone life he was re-creating.

If we spoke carpingly, we should insistently claim that in none of these writings is there a pictorial faithfulness. At best or worst, all writing is intrinsically subjective. Consequently if what purports to be a presentation of foreign life is after all tinged with local imagination, we accept it nevertheless, and with especial ease in the drama. It is this form of expression that reached more people than perhaps any other form of the eighteenth century. Ignorance of letters might prevent reading, but all could see and hear and understand. The play influenced widely, and what it presented was spread yet further by discussion. Faithful or inexact, these pictures of Spanish life and adventure produced impressions which, combined with past notions and future accretions, generated types and figures of national significance.

What more natural than for a French dramatist, with his burdened knowledge of the vice-ridden court of his own land, to picture the Spanish court as equally sinful and without ethics: ⁷

Oh! Oh! De la morale! A la cour! Fruit nouveau!

These ideas, reiterated and reimpresed, soon produce an ineffaceable picture of a foreign court vicious and soulless. The idea gathers strength extensively, and soon we have a general picture of viciousness

⁶ *Œuvres Dramatiques de Destouches*, Ed. Lefèvre, Paris (1811), Vol. 3, p. 230.

⁷ DESTOUCHES, *L'Ambitieux et l'Indiscrète* (1737), Act 1, Scene 5.

evoked at the mere mention of court-life. In fact French writers take advantage of the comparative safety of a change of scene and express almost with impunity in terms of Persian satraps, Turkish sophis, Spanish hidalgos, and English milords, the threatening rumble of their hearts' discontent and their souls' hatred of the noble-born oppressors of France. Who can guess how much of the momentum of the Revolution was gathered from these plays of foreign lands?

II — LOVERS AND THE CODE OF CONDUCT

If Spain figures as a country of romance and adventure, it is but natural that she be also a paradise for lovers. We meet a great many of them in our plays and they are of different kinds. Perhaps it is better then to become acquainted with them as individuals before we venture to think of them as a family with lineal traits.

Like women of other countries, those of Spain, our dramatists find, have a special fondness for French lovers, in spite of a distrust of their fidelity, — perhaps because of it. Sanchette, a noble-born girl, has such an admiration for Gallic gentlemen, that when she is told that some of their actors are to give a ballet in her honor, she exclaims delightedly:⁸

Vingt beaux messieurs français! j'en ai l'âme ravie;
J'eus de voir des Français toujours très grande envie.

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L'aimable nation! que de galanterie! . . .

⁸ VOLTAIRE, *La Princesse de Navarre* (1745), Act 1, Scene 5.

This very vivacious welcome may be explained as partly due to her youthful curiosity and her instinct (I, 4):

C'est une fille neuve, innocente, indiscrete,
Bonne par inclination,
Simple par éducation,
Et par instinct un peu coquette.
C'est la pure nature en sa simplicité.

From this inexperienced young lady we might almost surmise that in our Spanish circles there was a great liking for the Frenchman and his courteous ways. As a dashing cavalier he must have attracted the pleased approval and the shy glances of many a dark-eyed southern damsel. The husbands or fathers of these ladies were suspicious of the nature of the attentions they received. As Don Lopez, a merchant of Cadiz, puts it: ⁹

Nous avons ici un grand nombre d'Officiers François. Ils vont faire la guerre contre nos ennemis, les Portugais, et tous les maris et les pères font des vœux pour leur prompt départ.

This distrust of the visiting Frenchman communicates itself naturally to the training of the young girl, so that she grows up with a staunch assurance of the universal untrustworthiness of the gay foreigner's love-making. We find many interesting traces of this distrust, of which we shall cite two here. Valère, a character in one of FAVART'S plays,¹⁰ woos Elvire, a Spanish beauty, with all the sincere fervor he can muster. But she turns away regretfully, ad-

⁹ D'HÈLE, *Les Fausses Apparences* (1778), Act 1, Scene 1.

¹⁰ *Le Mariage par Escalade* (1756).

mitting that unlike her English lover, he, Valère, is pleasant, amusing, and attractive, but that she cannot trust his vows. Frenchmen, she asserts, have the wings of Cupid as well as his arrows. In a similar vein Isabelle, another beauty, sings tantalizingly to her French lover, Florival: ¹¹

Tout en vous est séducteur;
J'en dirois bien davantage;
Mais, mais
Vous êtes François,
Et tout François est volage.

Needless to add that both Valère and Florival overcome these acquired suspicions regarding the duration of their devotion.

Elvire is a lady of some strength and independence of mind. It takes many assurances of lasting love to win her. But how shall we designate Aurore,¹² another Spanish girl, who deliberately chooses a man for her lover and then proceeds to make him marry her? To suspect her of unworthy motives is impossible, for she is too beautiful and rich to lack ordinary admirers. Besides she is an orphan. She has come to know Dom Lope as a worshiper who offered her the incense of his devotion at night through her trellis in the convent. But when, freed by her father's death, she leaves her prison-home, she finds him wooing another woman. She does not in the least submit sadly to this infidelity, but coolly sets out to plan to recover her lover. And a perfect plotter she is. Schemes suc-

¹¹ D'HÈLE, *Les Fausses Apparences* (1778), Act 3, Scene 2.

¹² NIVELLE DE LA CHAUSSÉE, *L'Amour Castillan* (1747).

ceed one another at breathless pace, till Dom Lope, tried and true, emerges into the sunshine of Aurore's good graces.

The name of the play is *Castilian Love*; and if such be its usual course, then it is an uneven affair indeed. We are led to believe that Spanish love is not a robust plant and that it needs nursing in the shape of plots and counterplots before its stem strengthens into a trunk. Aurore accomplishes this task with huge delight and there is not a minute when she does not control the whole situation with a firm hand, as she hatches her plots at a moment's notice. She reminds us in this respect of an Olympian deity, for her plans never miscarry. She loves her lover, but she does not, like Juno, go off into tantrums when he proves forgetful, misled as he is in his other devotion by a misplaced feeling of gratitude. On the contrary, she guides him back to her in a persistent manner, with no undue haste, but relentlessly and successfully. In this she is in her element, she asserts (I, 4):

Voilà précisément l'amour tel que je l'aime;
Je le veux traversé, contrarié, contraint,
Que de mille terreurs il soit sans cesse atteint,
Qu'il ait toujours tout prêt un secret stratagème,
Un détour, une ruse impossible à prévoir,
Pour tromper les argus et braver leur pouvoir.

This delightful heroine therefore loves the mysterious situation; the more baffling it is, the better she enjoys it. Under such circumstances, to call her merely independent is to speak of her inadequately. She is more than that, for she rises above all human law s. This, she insists, is her right (I, 4):

Et comme il me plaira, tu me laisseras vivre;
 Car je ne prétens plus avoir de loix à suivre
 Que celles des plaisirs et celles de l'amour.

This point of view and its need of sharp wit and clever perception in order to maintain it, she could never have acquired in the convent. This is a perfecting touch that Madrid has added to her rich natural outfit (I, 4):

Je passais dans Madrid pour joindre à quelques charmes,
 De l'esprit, des talens . . .

Certainly, Madrid was a great center, a magnet that drew toward it those who aspired to social and conversational facility. Relatively, it was to Spain what Paris was to France, the royal core of the country.

At first sight the complete freedom in action and thought displayed by the brilliant Aurore could not seem typical of Spanish girls. We have heard so much of their jealous and capricious husbands and fathers that certainly such a repressive environment might well be expected to cause a dampening of the spirit of independence and a submissive sense of obedience. Yet to our surprise we are forced to conclude that this oppressive atmosphere of jealous watchfulness served only to arouse the innate and natural feeling of liberty as it was manifested in loving. BEAUMARCHAIS created his Rosine¹³ in this vein. Bartholo, an old miser, keeps her practically imprisoned in his house and forces upon her his unrequited attentions. But she is very clever

¹³ *Le Barbier de Séville* (1775).

and spirited, and fights him ably with a woman's weapons. She has an unconscionable way of lying herself out of a difficulty that quite takes one's breath away. Not that this habit is a frailty particularly attributable to Spanish women. Rosine, however, lies with such admirable facility that we must pause to wonder how she does it. For example: she has written a hasty note to her lover; Bartholo accuses her of the crime, for he knows that one sheet of paper is missing; Rosine says she has used it to make a candy-bag; Bartholo points out that her finger is stained with ink; this she simply explains by her statement that she had applied the ink to cure a bruise. Finally, when the wily old man has cornered her by opening one of her letters, she breaks out in anger (II, 15):

Rosine. C'est qu'il est inouï qu'on se permette d'ouvrir les lettres de quelqu'un.

Bartholo. De sa femme?

Rosine. Je ne la suis pas encore. Mais pourquoi lui donnerait-on la préférence d'une indignité qu'on ne fait à personne?

This is the acme of independent reasoning and just the asking of such an unanswerable question brands Rosine as a modern suffragist. Her modernity consists essentially in the fact that she asks unanswerable questions. Poor Bartholo can only exclaim in vexed tones, which sound modern too (II, 15):

Nous ne sommes pas ici en France où l'on donne toujours raison aux femmes.

This curt argument has an interest for us in the way it hints at a foreign view of the sway of French

women over their men. It would be natural to think of France with her social enthronement and worship of woman as a country where she was indeed benignly free. Such a notion would be especially characteristic in a land like Spain where the fair sex was sternly held in check by the firm hand of the unfair. We can find traces of this same acknowledgment of the comparative freedom of French women in our Turkish studies; and, to be sure, one expects this aspect of French life to be emphasized in the land of the harem.

FAVART, in one of the best plays¹⁴ he has written, gives us a first-hand opportunity to observe and enjoy the presence of three different types of women in the seraglio of the sultan at Constantinople. One is a Circassian, the other French, and the third Spanish; and it is in the last that we are most interested now. Elmire is a splendidly beautiful woman, the gem in a harem of five hundred. We are to assume that she was brought a captive to the great master, and he has ardently wooed her for a month. He thinks her an artless, guileless girl, but he has not the slightest realization of her cunning play with him. Now that she is in the harem, Elmire is very ambitious to become the sultana, and so for a month she has made his majesty her worshipful slave by refusing to grant him the slightest favor. Yet Osmin, the eunuch, has seen through her wiles; knowing women, he understands the little feminine tricks of Elmire in the presence of the emperor,—a graceful gesture, a position of languorous repose, the slipping of a gown. Elmire is

¹⁴ *Soliman Second ou Les Trois Sultanes* (1761).

consummate in the art of arousing the imperial desire, and she is strangely reminiscent to us of the dark Spanish beauty shrouded in mysterious charm. Yet, even Elmire makes the sad mistake, when her triumph is almost at hand, of yielding too completely and too willingly to the sultan's caresses. His unexpectedly easy triumph is a little disappointing to his highness, and soon Elmire sees the place she has coveted possessed by the less beautiful but more irritatingly bewitching French damsel.

The vivacity of Roxelane, the successful sultana, is worthy of note. It is that very quality in this French girl that draws the master on, whereas it is to a lack of that quality that we may ascribe Elmire's failure eternally to enchant the sultan's soul. Roxelane recognizes this absence of energetic and witty power in her Spanish rival. She prods her (II, 14):

Elmire, je vous prie,
Il faut égayer le repas:
Point de flegme Espagnol; vive l'étourderie.

Roxelane, who knows the world, seems to attribute this lack of interest to Spanish people. She is probably referring in what she says to a certain seriousness which excludes joviality. It is not real indifference to life and its joys that she observes in the phlegmatic Spaniard. Elmire is capable of love and even more capable of anger. She cannot let her rival succeed where she has failed (III, 1):

Mais j'aurai Soliman . . . Soliman ou la mort.
L'ambition à l'amour est égale.
Quoi! je verrais . . . je verrais ma rivale
Jouir! Je la perdrai . . .

Her wrath does not boot her anything, for she finally has to submit to the imperial will.

Before we turn to the Spanish lover and his passionate ideals, let us make this parting admission: that in spite of his jealousy and care, it would seem that the Castilian lady who loves elsewhere than at home is no rarity. In PIRON'S *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), through the agency of a magic robe which is red to the eyes of an undeceived husband and black to the other kind, we discover the lamentable fact that many Spanish women, especially those of the lower class, are untrue to their marital vows. Many of them are very anxious to prevent their husbands from inspecting the telltale robe. We have even more direct testimony elsewhere to the same effect. LESAGE in his *Conversations between Fireplaces of Madrid*¹⁵ has one hearth relate how, in that room, a recent visitor shut out the sunlight and for weeks mourned his dead wife. This was an Englishman. But the next guest was a Spanish country-dame who had come to Madrid in order to lead the simple life with her lover, away from those who knew them. It is remarkable that hardly a trace of marital unfaithfulness is attributed to Italian women, whereas among those of this other southern peninsula, it is seemingly a common trait. Perhaps a survey of the Castilian lover and his notions of the sex relations will help us to understand why this noteworthy difference has come to pass into the minds of our French dramatists.

First of all we must gradually realize that the air in Spain is surcharged with a peculiar romance of

¹⁵ *Entretiens des Cheminées de Madrid, Œuvres* (1783), Vol. 1.

passion. This is evident in divers little ways, but the chief characteristics of its presence are the rant, the exaggeration, and the trickery of love-making. Wooing seems to be the main life-work of the noble Spaniard. Hence it is possible for him to fall a victim to the charms of successive beauties with a consistency which is as astounding as the absolute fidelity demanded of the women. This helps us to understand why in a play like PIRON's *Le Faux Prodige* (1726), Dom Pèdre, brother to Isabelle, is such a tyrant over her conduct while he pays but little attention to his own vagaries. It is the way men of his nation have acted and thought, and he continues the tradition.

This relation between men and women, — for Dom Pèdre's attitude is general, — could not result in a cult of womanhood that was understanding and inspiring. By his indifferent acquiescent attitude toward her private relations, the Frenchman afforded the same liberties to his wife that he himself took. In Spain, however, we find no such phlegmatic courtesy as the chief guide in the husband's conduct. No matter what his own philosophy of worldliness might include for himself, there is but one principle that dominates the alliance between him and his wife, and that is jealousy. As Arlequin remarks to Léandre: ¹⁶

Vous savez que rien n'est si jaloux que les Espagnols?

Jealousy is as natural to the Spaniard as the air he breathes and he comes to conceive of it as the one

¹⁶ PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention ou Le Faux Prodige* (1726), Act 1, Scene 2.

great way in which he can show his love for his lady. Alonzo says: ¹⁷

Aimer sans jalousie,
Non, ce n'est point aimer;
Ce n'est qu'un sentiment léger,
Un goût frivole et passager,
Que sans effort on quitte, et qu'on oublie.
Mais quand on aime pour la vie,
On aime avec fureur.
Souvent c'est un martyr,
C'est un affreux délire,
Qui tourmente et déchire
Un trop sensible cœur.

This then is the very soul of Spanish passion; and if we cold analysts can but enter into it slightly, we shall be enabled to understand the heights of exaggeration attained with the utmost sincerity by these lovers. We shall realize how it is possible for Dom Fernand to announce in dolorous tones to his lady-love who prefers some one else to him, that his heart is pierced and torn by fatal torture: ¹⁸

Je porte aux fonds des déserts,
Mes pleurs, ma honte et mes fers.
Adieu, chère Isabelle.

We can also enter more sympathetically into the psychology of the passionate Dom Lope who is fired by a mere description of a lady into colossal ardor: ¹⁹

¹⁷ D'HÈLE, *Les Fausses Apparences* (1778), Act 2, Scene 14.

¹⁸ PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), Act 2, Scene 12.

¹⁹ NIVELLE DE LA CHAUSSEE, *L'Amour Castillan* (1747), Act 2, Scene 7.

Tout me fit adorer ma divine inconnue.
 En un mot, j'éprouvai qu'un cœur pour se donner,
 N'a pas toujours besoin du secours de la vue.

Dom Lope is youthful and inexperienced. He is young enough to feel that money should play no part in his choice of a mate (I, 5):

. . . Mais à mon sens, quoiqu'il en soit,
 Tout amant qui se vend n'est qu'un vil mercenaire.

Yet this noble sentiment, uttered in the heat of emotion, fades before the practical reality of a rich and dowered wife. Thus many an ardent purpose perishes before the cold blast of the conventional. Yet we cannot call this a fact regrettably true of Spain. Rather the opposite is true of that magic land, for in its surcharged atmosphere, even the bare logic of necessity weakens and the most philosophic loses his practical composure. So contagious is her eroticism that all her guests become to some extent tainted with it. We are not then surprised at Arlequin's impatient remonstrance at his master's exaggerated devotion: ²⁰

Quoi! vous donnez dans ces excès?
 Vous, aimer de la sorte!
 Voilà qui n'est guère François;
 Ou le diable m'emporte.

Mais il est vrai que nous sommes en Espagne; je vous pardonne ces folies.

This electrified atmospheric condition takes a queer turn in Seville, where passion with its retinue of charms and missives and tears holds regal sway.

²⁰ PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), Act 1, Scene 2.

Lazarille, a Spanish servant who keeps his head, comments on Sevillian love: ²¹

Palsambleu, la drôle de ville!
On ne fait nulle part l'amour comme à Séville.
On ne sait qui l'on aime, & qui l'on a charmé.

We are led to imagine the impressionable youth of that city as tagging around all day in delirious flirtation with veiled ladies who uncover their faces for a moment but to add fuel to the huge flame already kindled. Apparently there is no one to interfere with this amorous exchange between people unknown to one another. Indeed, the duenna, that Spanish lady of extremely wide repute, is conspicuous in Spain by her absence. It would seem as if the pressing need for her services in other countries had deprived her own land of her watchful care. Not even mothers figure in our plays; and our Castilian beauties could enjoy a liberty unequalled and unheard of were it not for the disturbing presence of fathers or brothers.

Our sympathy with these motherless heroines makes us rebel hotly against the unjust discriminations practised by these fathers and brothers. The latter's very predominance in the family to the detriment of all the other relatives, especially the female contingent, is enough to prejudice us against them. But one might expect a brother who is himself a lover to understand his sister better and not fall into these tyrannically conventional modes of conduct. Instead, Alonzo ²² exercises his male authority and

²¹ NIVELLE DE LA CHAUSSÉE, *L'Amour Castillan* (1747), Act 1, Scene 1.

²² D'HÈLE, *Les Fausses Apparences* (1778).

makes a refugee of his sister Isabelle, whose sole guilt is her desire to marry a man she loves. She confides to her friend Léonore her fears aroused by her brother (I, 9):

Vous connoissez son caractère impétueux? Aussi jaloux de l'honneur de sa maison que de sa maîtresse, portant à l'excès tous les préjugés sévères de notre nation . . .

These unmerciful social customs of Spain to which Isabelle refers had, no doubt, for their original purpose, the sensible desire to preserve the reputation of girlhood in spotless purity. But it is to their excessive and unfair demands that Isabelle objects. These she cannot abide. They force her to act in a manner entirely contrary to good natural impulses. Rescued early one evening by a gallant young Frenchman named Florival from some evil-intentioned men, poor Isabelle is conducted in safety to the house of a friend. The moment she reaches the doorway, she turns around on her courteous rescuer and says regretfully (I, 5):

Il est bien cruel pour moi de congédier mon protecteur; mais vous devez connoître l'austérité de nos mœurs. Si on vous voyait ici . . .

These unfair demands of convention in Spanish life arouse a sympathy even for the tyrannical brothers and fathers who are themselves slaves to a cruel social organization. No one can for a moment doubt its ultimate detrimental effects. Our playwrights realize for their characters that on the part of womanhood it encourages secrecy and deception, on the part of man a social serfdom. Even when girls

have nothing to hide, they are forced by pure brow-beating to hide it. The attitude towards them is one of suspicion. Beneath this dense cloud of superficial relationship never a breath of the natural is stirring. There is constant struggle instead, and in this unhealthy dimmed atmosphere are bred the bats of jealousy and anger. The mere mention of a lady's name in connection with some natural incident is enough to cause those about her to shun her. Isabelle having been seen on the streets of Cadiz with the gallant Florival, a young ardent lover takes it for granted that the girl in question was his Léonore, and he promptly turns into a passionate reviler of a perfectly innocent girl. This is but one of many instances of a similar sort. In France, the freedom in matters sexual enjoyed by men and women of the social whirl was beneficial in at least this respect: that it rather enhanced the naturalness of loving and its normal activities. In Spain, everything seems unnatural, especially the point of view of man. The result of this environment was the evolution of the independent and rebellious type of woman we have met in Rosine and Elvire, the deceptive type we have seen in Isabelle and Léonore, the type which, like Elmire, is purringly beautiful and sexually attractive, and finally, a type that takes more naturally to the foreign husband — the Frenchman for instance. We have met this girl in Sanquette and Elvire. All this our discerning French dramatists have seen and clearly set down.

But they go even further. They know, partly by the conditions in their own land, that a code of conduct based on the artificialities of social rank and

convention, must lead in emergencies to acts which would be nothing short of ridiculous, did they not entail tragic consequences. Don Louis,²³ a Spanish naval officer, remarks this himself in his friend Don Lambinos, whose son supposedly has been killed. In Spain the normal thing to do is to murder the murderer. The *point d'honneur* ^{23a} demands it. But so ingrained is this habit of thought that the sense of bereavement is lost as soon as the criminal is punished. Emphasis is placed on the duty to be performed, and when that is accomplished, convention is satisfied. Vindictiveness is thereby encouraged and a totally wrong set of values placed on the various relations of life. Don Louis says of his friend:²³

Ah! Quel homme! Quel caractère vindicatif! Que je plains ceux qui peuvent avoir besoin de son indulgence! Le plaisir de faire punir l'auteur de la mort de son fils le consoleroit, je crois, de sa perte.

Yet what does this semi-open minded gentleman, who so ably criticizes his friend, do in the same circumstance? The man he believes murdered is his nephew, hence the code calls upon his avenging activity. When he learns that Fontrose, the French admirer of his daughter, is the culprit, he has to decide between his duty towards his family and his duty towards his daughter. Besides, since Fontrose is the son of a French marquis who had formerly saved his life, gratitude figures as another element

²³ DUMANIANT, *La Nuit aux Aventures* (1787), Act 2, Scene 4.

^{23a} For an interesting discussion on the *point d'honneur* see Romanic Review. Vol. 1. No. 3. (1910.)

that disturbs the nicely balanced demands of convention. Here is his decision (II, 9):

C'est le seul moyen de concilier ce que je dois au sang et à la reconnaissance. Je vais chercher Fontrose, je me bats avec lui. Si j'ai le malheur de le tuer, mon neveu est vengé, je l'écrirai au marquis & il m'approuvera. Si je succombe, eh bien! en cachant mon duel, je vais faire mes dispositions pour qu'on lui laisse ma fille, & la moitié de tous mes biens.

This rambling talk is so devoid of common sense that we feel assured that a Frenchman of the time could not have uttered it sincerely. Yet he would see that according to the stage there is only one way for this Spaniard to reconcile love and honor, and that is to kill some one. If he kills Fontrose, alas! his daughter loses a husband. If he is killed, alas! his daughter loses a father and is expected to marry his murderer. The absurdity of the whole situation never strikes him, as it would his lighter-hearted Gallic brother. How pure nobility of conduct oft betrays, in Spain, a lack of reasoning power!

We naturally expect this man-made system of morals to lead its Spanish exponents into other senseless situations, though by our dramatists these are often intended to appear serious and tense. But in stage plays where the heart-throb is after all the principal thing, we find the code mainly exposed in the conduct of lovers. We have seen the pure primal passion beset and hedged in and thwarted by many conventional obstacles. And this is the regrettable impression that we must take away with us concerning Spanish love.

III — THE SPAIN OF BEAUMARCHAIS

In 1764 PIERRE AUGUSTIN CARON, already known as BEAUMARCHAIS, traveled to Spain with a two-fold purpose. He was interested in vast financial undertakings which required his personal investigation. Besides this and almost as important, was his desire to bring to justice the notorious Clavijo, who had misled and deserted his sister Marie-Louise. When he returned to France, he had found his vocation. His stay in Spain seems to have given the young genius the spur to dramatic activity, and in 1767 he produced his first play, *Eugénie*, a bourgeois tragedy manufactured according to the formulæ of DIDEROT. In spite of its failure, BEAUMARCHAIS nursed in his mind the conceptions that his visit to the land of romance had given him. The hypocritical Almaziva, the sparkling Figaro, and the bewitching Rosine, all were born from that visit, and he gave them life in his inimitable way, imbued with all the disgust and revulsion that his own life had inspired in him. For we must remember that BEAUMARCHAIS was born of a watchmaker and that he had risen to the ranks of French court nobility. He could not have accomplished all this without the temporary sacrifice of his free soul; and he gives vent to the revolt in his heart by the immortal children of his mind.

We have then in the plays of BEAUMARCHAIS a very interesting and instructive example of foreign staging for polemic purposes. Nobody who reads his works to-day can doubt that behind the Spanish veil with which he covers his thoughts lies the intense purpose of exposing the vice and wickedness of his

own time and clime. Essentially, then, in his pictures, he is probably French. Withal it is impossible that some characteristic realities should not be found which are distinctly attributable to the nation whose name he chooses. No author of genius could escape from such an influence. An instinctive adherence to some canon of truth, felt rather than perceived, would prevent him.

When we therefore meet the Spanish nobleman Almaviva in *Le Barbier de Séville* (1775) or in *Le Mariage de Figaro* (1784), we can frankly admit the true purpose of his creation by BEAUMARCHAIS. But this must not prevent us from perceiving those natural associations which the hidalgo's descent involves. How normal it seems then to find him one bright morning thus soliloquizing as he saunters past the window of his most recent love: ²⁴

Si quelque aimable de la Cour pouvait me deviner à cent lieues de Madrid, arrêté tous les matins sous les fenêtres d'une femme à qui je n'ai jamais parlé, il me prendrait pour un Espagnol du temps d'Isabelle.

This seems so natural that BEAUMARCHAIS with his unfailing instinct makes Almaviva appear first, and these are the first words he utters. They seem to establish all the unities at one blow, time, place, and plot. We recognize the highly romantic wooer at once. We know that he is about to face insurmountable difficulties in this quest for an indefinite lady whom he doesn't know. He is a nobleman, of course, but the sword in his belt is not going to help him cut his way through obstacles till he reaches the side of his

²⁴ *Le Barbier de Séville*, Act 1, Scene 1.

beloved. Herein is BEAUMARCHAIS polemic, for his hero fades away into insignificance before the truer protagonist of the play, Figaro, the valet, the brain of his master. But Almadiva is still a Spaniard and a seeker of adventure, a man whose heart falls a prey to any pretty woman he meets. Perhaps he is most typically Spanish, though least like himself, when he gives up perforce the ancient right of the feudal lord to spend the first night with the newly-wedded wife of a vassal. He does it because honor demands it, and honor is a peculiar Spanish product, as we shall see. He proclaims his renunciation in no uncertain terms:²⁵

L'abolition d'un droit honteux n'est que l'acquit d'une dette envers l'honnêteté. Un Espagnol peut vouloir conquérir la beauté par des soins — mais en exiger le premier le plus doux emploi comme une servile redevance, ah! c'est la tyrannie d'un Vandale, et non le droit avoué d'un noble Castillan.

It is interesting to note here what quality this Spaniard considers inherent in the course of love-making. It is legitimate, so he thinks, to try to win a beauty to favor him, but he must never force her favors. This plausible theory is startlingly Oriental. We see it again and again in practice in the eastern harem. But in the west it remains a theory, an ideal to strive for. Rarely indeed is a Spanish girl in our plays allowed the liberty of choice. Even Almadiva is a hypocrite with all his Spanish honor, for he tries to seduce Suzanne even before she is married to her Figaro.

²⁵ *Le Mariage de Figaro*, Act 1, Scene 10.

So much for the young nobleman and his love-gambols. We may be permitted to include here a glance at another author's presentation of a similar character grown much older. VOLTAIRE shows him to us under a new name. He is Murillo: ²⁶

. . . un baron absurde, ayant assez de bien,
Grossièrement galant avec peu de scrupule:
Mais un homme ridicule
Vaut peut-être encor mieux que rien.

All through this play we find him a vacillating person who looks out for his own good, making love at every opportunity, and without courage in a crisis. He is not even a pathetic figure, he is merely ridiculous. BEAUMARCHAIS, in the second ²⁷ play of his Figaro trilogy, shows us Almaviva again and, like Murillo, the Spanish nobleman is now much older. With his age his libertinism and hypocrisy have grown to tremendous proportions. His constant deception of a submissive wife awakens our sympathy for that much abused lady. And our exultation is great as we watch the shrewd wit of the valet Figaro, abetted by that of his fiancée Suzanne, triumphing over the seignorial power of the count and restoring him unwittingly to the arms of his ever forgiving wife.

To be sure, this does not show us the figure of the Spanish nobleman in a very favorable light. In fact he strongly resembles his immortal prototype, Don Juan. The courtier who promiscuously distributed his affection was common enough, however, in France,

²⁶ *La Princesse de Navarre* (1745), Act 1, Scene 1.

²⁷ *Le Mariage de Figaro* (1784).

and it was natural to lend similar qualities to the lords of other lands. There are notable exceptions in the case of England. It follows that BEAUMARCHAIS did not actually create these qualities so inherent in high-born characters; but when he gave life to Almaziva, he apparently fixed forever some of the essential attributes of the romantic Spanish wooer, the popular *coureur d'aventures*. No amount of righteous conduct on the part of subsequent literary heroes of that nation can live down the reputation of Figaro's master.

BEAUMARCHAIS's genius shows its real power in another way. Not only do his major characters remain in the mind and take on significance with reflection, but his minor characters are not less clearly presented and they, too, remain with us as real individuals, not as types. Let us take, in *Le Barbier de Séville*, those most ordinary of all, the miserly tyrant Bartholo and his assistant Bazile. The former reminds us of a host of old misers who harshly imposed their mode of life on those about them. We instinctively hark back to the Harpagon of MOLIERE, who is the prototype of a horde of successors. But our Spanish Bartholo is vastly superior to this common herd. He is mean and cruel and nasty, but he is also a man of whom one is afraid. He has power, he is more than a match for the flighty Almaziva, and he can fight for what he considers his right, to the last ditch if necessary. Bazile, too, is raised by his infinite ingenuity to heights never attained by a stock comedy character, such as he really is in his office of accomplice to Bartholo.

But why examine these minor characters further? No matter how intensively we study Antonio, the count's gardener, Chérubin his page, or Marceline, a maid, we cannot get the feeling that they are truly Spanish just because of the individuality with which BEAUMARCHAIS imbues them. As they gather significance in the course of the action of the play, we begin to realize a deeper meaning behind their words and acts. We catch a glimpse in their eyes of BEAUMARCHAIS, the prophet, the seer. How else shall we explain the words of Marceline who, playing a clownish part till her cue comes, suddenly rises to eloquent heights of abjuration and condemnation of the system men have built for women:²⁸

Mais dans l'âge des illusions, de l'inexpérience et des besoins, où les séducteurs nous assiègent, pendant que la misère nous poignarde, que peut opposer une enfant à tant d'ennemis rassemblés? Tel nous juge ici sévèrement, qui, peut-être, en sa vie a perdu dix infortunées! . . . Hommes plus qu'ingrats, qui flétrissez par le mépris les jouets de vos passions, vos victimes! c'est vous qu'il faut punir des erreurs de notre jeunesse; vous et vos magistrats, si vains du droit de nous juger, et qui nous laissent enlever, par leur coupable négligence, tout honnête moyen de subsister. Est-il un seul état pour les malheureuses filles?

Here is the soul-cry of a betrayed woman as she faces her guilty judges; and as we hearken to her from our present perch in the centuries, we bow to Marceline with tears in our eyes, and a sob is our answer to the immortal truth she utters.

Truths, these are so immortal that they transcend not only time but place. They are no more Spanish

²⁸ *Le Mariage de Figaro* (1784), Act 3, Scene 16.

than they are French or English. And who is Figaro but the immortal rebel, the hater of injustice, the lowly soul pushing its way for air against the mass of putrid social conventions! Figaro is no more Spanish than Gil Blas or Don Juan. He is the seething spirit of the world, he is the embodiment of discontent with conditions, he is, as many would have it, BEAUMARCHAIS himself. While this is probably true, no one can deny that the impression that *Le Mariage de Figaro* made on its audiences was that it was a dramatization of the manners and thoughts of Frenchmen. The French nobles who thronged the Comédie Française and saw themselves enacted in Almaviva were not insulted at this exposé of their immorality, but remarked amusedly: "Que c'est ressemblant."²⁹ GRIMM in his correspondence speaks in no uncertain terms of the play and the characters it truly represents.³⁰ It was a play that made a special appeal to the people, and their frenzied enthusiasm at its première was certainly not aroused by what they considered to be a depicting of Spanish life.

We render homage to the great PIERRE AUGUSTIN CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS for having a genius wonderful enough to create characters which we cannot say have helped us much in this effort to view foreigners through the medium of French dramatists.

IV — LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS

Let us examine an excerpt from a criticism made by the famous critic LA HARPE in the *Mercure de*

²⁹ LA BARONNE D'OBERKIRCH, *Mémoires*, Vol. 2, Chap. 23.

³⁰ GRIMM, *Correspondance Littéraire*, Vol. 13, p. 106.

France, January 25, 1779. The occasion for it was a new comedy, *Les Fausses Apparences*, written by D'HÈLE and presented in the Théâtre Italien on December 23 of the preceding year:

Cette pièce . . . est du genre de ces anciens canevas des Théâtres Espagnol et Italien, de ces imbroglio, fondés sur des méprises et des déguisemens, et qui ont fourni des sujets à nos poètes dramatiques du siècle dernier, lorsque notre littérature naissante prenoit encore ses modèles en Espagne et en Italie, avant d'en produire elle-même de meilleurs .

This dictum seems to confirm the impression of literary weakness that these plays have made on us. We have found the same to be true concerning the comedies of Italian life.

The trouble seems to lie mainly in the plot. It is generally so involved and confused, owing to this conscious imitation of Spanish and Italian plays, that we lose interest long before the Gordian knot is cut. We could cite many instances of these tiresome, long-drawn-out comedies with their obvious situations; and, in our attempt to describe their plots, we should perhaps become disagreeably involved ourselves. But let us try to relate what happens in one play just to show how complicated a simple adventure may become. Let us choose DUMANIANT'S *La Nuit aux Aventures ou Les Deux Morts Vivants* (1787).

Doña Eleonore, the daughter of Don Louis, steals out of the house one night to visit a masked ball. She has on her domino, so she can meet and talk with whom she will. During the dancing, she becomes acquainted with the young Fontrose, a French

chevalier, who has come to Madrid incognito to learn what he can about this very Eleonore, whom his father wants him to marry. Fontrose is captivated by the lady in the domino without knowing who she is and, after the ball, he follows her to learn where she lives. Suddenly he sees her beset by some men, one of whom engages him too. This unexpected enemy is Don Juan, a nephew of Don Louis. He has mistaken Eleonore for Laure, his fiancée, and suspects this stranger of courting her. Fontrose easily disposes of Don Juan, though both are wounded and each believes that he has killed the other. The Frenchman, realizing that he is now a fugitive from justice, takes refuge in Eleonore's house. She and her maid contrive to hide him for a few hours. Then various incidents occur which render his stay precarious. The ladies then contrive to have him and the valet who is with him leave the house, concealed in a trunk. By a convenient mistake, the trunk is taken to a prison where Don Juan is incarcerated under the charge that he has killed a foreigner. The two recognize each other eventually and everything is explained away.

The telling of the plot makes it look much simpler than it really is, for there has to be left out a mass of confusing detail apparent only in the dialogue. But our account should give a notion of how the scheme of the play hinges on misunderstandings and mistakes. Dominos and incognitos are indispensable aids in all this mystification. Can one imagine the veritable confusion that results with the introduction of magic? We find such a hodgepodge in PIRON'S *La Robe de Dissention ou Le Faux Pro-*

dige (1726). This magic dress, which shows by its color whether husband or wife has remained faithful, sets off a whole village into two armed camps, until it is generally proven that almost all have broken their marriage vows. The resulting complication is indescribable, involving as it does protestations and struggles and false accusations. It is also noteworthy that this comedy has a distinctly Oriental flavor with its magic robe. But we must not be surprised at this when we think of Spain, in VOLTAIRE'S words, as "le pays des romans." This attitude toward the land of Castilian speech we have met with in practically all this study.

Such an attitude would naturally exclude any attempts at realistic staging, so far as the dramatists are concerned. Costume, for example, is not emphasized in our printed texts of these plays, nor even scenery. Only two authors have attempted feebly to indicate that they want their characters to be dressed as Spaniards. DUMANIANT has the following list of clothing properties:³¹

DON LOUIS — Officier Supérieur de la Marine, Habit bleu, paremens rouges, large galon d'or, cocarde rouge.

DON LAMBINOS — ancien costume espagnol noir, passepoil rouge.

MOSQUITO — postillon, veste écarlate, galonnée en argent, à bouffettes de couleur jaune, cheveux plats.

DON JUAN — fils de Don Lambinos, frac écarlate, cocarde rouge.

It is interesting to note that DUMANIANT designates red as a popular color and that he does not attempt at all to clothe more than one minor character.

³¹ *La Nuit aux Aventures* (1787).

In regard to costume BEAUMARCHAIS is much more conscientious. We shall not attempt to give here a representative list of his properties, for they can be found under his *personnages* quite rich in detail except for the women's parts. He goes so far as to make an attempt at scenic effect, too, and writes the following indication for the first scene in *Le Barbier de Séville*:

Le théâtre représente une rue de Séville, où toutes les croisées sont grillées.

This sounds extraordinarily Spanish and we know that BEAUMARCHAIS actually saw those windows in Spain.

Though other authors have not given us any detailed scenic indications of the fact, we have traveled with them in Seville and in Cadiz. We have been, too, in Madrid and in Barcelona. We have seen a romance acted out on the borders of Navarre and also in the palace of the king of Castile. We have been taken to view a Spanish lady at Constantinople and another in Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean. PIRON alone has given us a locality — all too indefinite — in his “une ville d’Espagne.”³² In shining contrast with this stands our BEAUMARCHAIS’s indication that the action of his *Le Mariage de Figaro* takes place in the Château d’Aguas Frescas, three leagues from Seville. We might also mention that we meet a troupe of Catalonian puppet-show actors in Paris, in “une partie des Beaux Boulevards illuminée,”³³ which goes to show that Spaniards

³² PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726).

³³ FAVART, *La Soirée des Boulevards* (1750).

who came to Paris found their distinctive occupations, as did our Italian artists. Marie Thérèse, the queen of Louis XIV, maintained a troupe of Spanish players to remind her of home. They never became popular because of their language and their bombastic dialogue and tiresome plots.

Let us conclude these technicalities with the remark that, as was the case with Italian characters, our dramatists have seen fit to put perfect French into the mouths of their Spaniards. We are philologically not surprised at this fact. Only once do we find a Spaniard, a Biscayan, making the most amusingly characteristic mistakes in his efforts to speak the angelic language. Naturally his *b*'s and *v*'s bother him: ³⁴

Monsu, je bois à bostre havillement que bous êtes un memvre de l'opéra comique.

Je bais prier une de ces veautés.

And there is also the initial *es*:

Faites-moi recevoir à bostre spectacle.

Apart from this instance, Spaniards are at home in the French language, whether the scene is in France or in Spain.

This ability to speak his language must have seemed natural to the Frenchman, for he felt in the Spanish character on the stage before him a certain approximation to himself, a similarity. The relationship between the Bourbon dynasties that ruled the two countries served only to increase the cousinship between the two peoples. The political *Pacte de*

³⁴ LESAGE, *Les Désespérés* (1732), Scene 8.

Famille drew the bonds even closer. The Spanish atmosphere seemed normal and our French audiences must have enjoyed with a friendly familiarity the gay procession of heavy-hearted lovers and dark damsels that our dramatists creatively imported for their amusement.

GERMANS

GERMANS

ONE of the conclusions reached in this work, especially when studying characters belonging to a nation politically unfriendly to France, is that the foreign policies of the French government had but little effect on the stage representations of either a friendly or an inimical people. It is evident then that even in the eighteenth century, the popular imagination had seized upon definite conceptions of foreign types and had adhered to them despite the fluctuations of international alliances. These associated qualities of alien lands remained in the drama, while the passing political condition created by cabinets was often ignored. Now and then, especially from the antagonisms with England and Holland, there arise dramatic works of a purely occasional interest. But these are few, poetry being a much more favorable medium for such expression, as the laureates of England prove. FAVART'S *L'Ecole des Amours Grivois* (July 16, 1744) is a rough vaudeville rudely nailed together to celebrate the recovery at Metz of king Louis XV from serious illness. It has its scene in Flanders and shows how the Flemish people were intensely anxious to come under French rule in preference to Germanic domination. This skit was so successful that the same dramatist wrote another, *Le Bal de Strasbourg* (September 13, 1744), in which Germans and Swiss

alike are almost overcome with joy at the French king's recovery. In 1756, when the Seven Years' War was officially begun, FAVART takes up his pen again; in his *Le Mariage par Escalade*, we find out how inferior are English sailors and officers to the French.

But plays of this kind, which reflect so completely a merely passing condition of political relationship, are negligible. This fact is sufficiently proven by the friendly tone of French plays of the eighteenth century which have English characters, although it was a period of extreme land and sea rivalry between the two great countries. In the present chapter will be seen how the notion of the German, more properly of the Prussian, developed, quite unhindered by a succession of wars between France and some of the German states extending through a period of about twenty-five years, 1740 to 1763. The fact that there are few references to Prussian characters in the drama of the first forty years of the century can easily be explained by the relative non-importance of that nation in the councils of the world. Its birth as a kingdom dates from 1700 and its place as a military power is won only in the second half of the century.

It is after 1740 that Prussians feel themselves to be a nation, united by a common bond of hostility against Austria. Up to that time the various dis-united duchies had hardly figured in national relations with France. And even when the struggle for supremacy between Austria and Prussia involved France, there were many independent states, which, like Bavaria, remained friendly. Many of these

little principalities, guided by self-interest, to be sure, had entered into private pacts with France. Thus in 1714 and again in 1727, by a secret treaty, the king of France promised to support the candidacy of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne, in the event of a vacancy. Royal family connections modified also to a great extent these widely ranging agreements between France and the many German states. Maria Theresa married the Frenchman Francis Stephen, duke of Lorraine, and this was no common bond for two countries in the eighteenth century. Political exigencies forced even Prussia, in her effort to retain Silesia at the outset of the War of the Austrian Succession, to league with France.

With so many varying treaties, with such a baffling series of alliances, there could hardly be any significant movement of friendliness on the part of the Frenchmen toward Germans. If anything, it is a feeling of aloofness and unacquaintance that is likely to result from so precarious a system of national treaties. So far as the drama indicates, it is after 1740 that the French notion of a German type begins, stimulated previously by the military vagaries of Frederick William. Later, in the Seven Years' War, Prussia and England were the allied enemies of France, grappled in their common interest by the superb statesmanship of Pitt. It is now, dramatically speaking, that the Prussian enemy is really born, just as, in Germany, a definite revulsion against things French becomes decidedly evident after the victory of Rossbach (1757). The Treaty of Paris (1763) despoiled France of her vast

colonial possessions. Her defeat was due to naval inferiority to England, but largely also to the concentration of military attention that Prussia forced by her growing menace.

We are not surprised then to find in 1753, according to Boissy,¹ that Germans were tipplers and worse. We are reminded of MONTESQUIEU's statement: "En Allemagne, je bois avec les Allemands." But toward the end of the century, in 1789 for example, a saner view is taken, and in one play² Germans are actually revealed as very intelligent and sober and generous. So enmities come and go and come again. Drama can reflect these international movements but little since they are on so vast a scale even if controlled by a few powerful individuals. It is rather in the ordinary life of the people than in any labored form of literary expression that we must seek the truth of a nation's heart, the ordinary life of the people as reflected perhaps in their intimate letters.

The drama, however, has an advantage for this kind of study: it can place before us at the same time people typical of different lands in mutual relation, and it can picture their give and take with imaginative force. It is not therefore a mere photograph of aliens that we obtain, but, if I may call it so, a motion picture of interrelated characters. Seen in this light, the few plays of the eighteenth century which present German thought and custom form an important document from which we can gather,

¹ *Le Retour de la Paix* (January 23, 1753).

² DEZÈDE, *Auguste et Théodore* (1789). Imitated from ENGEL's *Der Page*.

in mere outline, essential traits as seen by French playwrights.

Many walks of life and many ranks are pictured in this document, from king to hotel-keeper, from a princess to a frontiers-woman. One interesting fact about them all is that they are generally German — not Prussian, not even Austrian. “La scène est en Allemagne” is the usual scenic direction. Bavarian, Würtemberger, Saxon, Hessian, these provincial distinctions do not clearly exist on the stage. We can recall only one instance of more definite reference and that is in a *Proverbe* by CARMONTELLE, called *le Prince de Wourtsberg*.³ Wourtsberg evidently stands for Würzburg, a principality which was ceded to Bavaria in 1815. We are often led, however, to think of these German characters as Prussian, since that was, as it is now, the most striking of the lingually associated principalities.

I — CHARACTERS

With these introductory words, we may now turn our attention to the *personnages* as we meet them, starting with the nobleman, descending to the bourgeois, and ending with a few general remarks culled here and there.

Unlike the Italian plays, which showed us very little of high-born persons, the German plays stage even royalty. This may be because of the numerical superiority of German kings, since each state had its prince, thus rendering his presentation on the stage less audacious. It was inevitable also that

³ CARMONTELLE, *Proverbes dramatiques* (1822), Vol. 3.

where there were so many rulers, some at least should be unimportant and possessed perhaps of ridiculous pretensions. Accounts of the doings of these minor sovereigns were current enough in France, brought back abundantly by itinerant French actors and singers. M. Brillantson,⁴ one of CARMONTELLE'S characters, is a French singer who will have a rare story to tell in Paris regarding the prince of Wourtsberg and his musical faculty. We do meet however, in DEZÈDE'S *Auguste et Théodore* (1789), a great and generous king, and the play communicates the thought that he is probably Prussian, although the scene is "en Allemagne." Théodore, a poor page in his employ, is sure of the king's generous remembrance of the deeds of one of his officers. "Le Grand Roi,⁵ oublia-t-il jamais un brave officier, tué sous ses drapeaux?" The king is eminently just, too. Auguste, another page, consoles himself for his misfortunes:

Le Roi ⁶ sera instruit, il saura tout: rien n'échappe à sa vigilance; il admet et écoute tous ses sujets. Tous ont également part à sa bonté et à sa justice; c'est le Dieu tutélaire de son peuple; il sera sensible à nos malheurs; . . .

This is indeed a king, and one looks askance at the kindly exaggeration of this description. But DEZÈDE goes further, for royalty is actually put on the stage. We find the king at his desk disposing of business in a most efficient and kindly manner

⁴ *Le Prince de Wourtsberg, Proverbes Dramatiques*, Vol. 3, Proverbe LXVIII.

⁵ Act 2, Scene 2.

⁶ Act 2, Scene 3. Evidently veiled praise for Louis XVI.

(II, 4). He has two great drawers, one on the right for petitions requiring immediate attention, and one on the left for those not granted.

This enviable picture of capable royalty is quite offset, however, by the ludicrous prince of Wourtsberg. He is a tremendous absolute monarch worshiped in a tiny court somewhere in Germany. He is pleased by a French itinerant singer because the latter sings exactly what he is asked to sing in the manner he is told. His art is made absolutely ridiculous, for the prince's pet theory about music is that it should be fast. Brillantson does his best in the matter of speed and makes such a disturbance that there is no music left. Yet his wonderful tempo wins him a place in the little court, where he must, at their pleasure, sing for the princesses their favorite song, "*Si jamais je prends un époux.*"

In the same comical assemblage at Würzburg is the king's chamberlain, a gouty sot, past his prime. The prince jests with him (sc. 4):

Vous n'êtes plus bon à rien, Chambellan, si vous ne supportez pas mieux le vin que cela. Vous ne chassez plus. Je ne vous conseille pas de vous marier non plus.

He is a most disgusting picture of a rheumatic lover of women, who has dulled the edge of his appetite. Somehow this pitiable figure seems typical in some aspects of the fed-up aristocrat of all nations. We meet him in England, in France, and especially in Turkey; and generally he is some high functionary close to the king, a milord, or a bacha, or sophi, or cadi. He is essentially the progenitor of the aristocratic villain in a modern melodrama; for he

it is who generally persecutes the innocent heroine by his unworthy attentions and thus brings unhappiness to the loving hero. He is invariably defeated at the end; for what obstacle can resist true love? Certainly the portly old wooer is never a serious hindrance.

German aristocracy of even lower pretensions is not pictured in colors any more enviable. Its musical taste especially seems to be a favorite butt for ridicule. In an anonymous play called *La Musicomanie* ⁷ (1779), we find the Baron Steinbak, a musical idiot ready to swallow any idea regarding his hobby, no matter how preposterous. In his house everybody leads a hard life, for he forces all his servants as well as his daughter to play some musical instrument. He has an orchestral instinct which leads him into the queerest vagaries. For anybody to obtain anything from him, the request must be musical. His druggist has to sing his items and state his claim in harmony. When Léandre, his daughter's suitor, disguised as an Italian musician, puts before him the scheme of bringing up children with music as their only mode of speech, the baron wildly applauds and gives his daughter to the unknown theorist in order to bear children upon whom the novel scheme may be tried. This German admires Rousseau tremendously, and if his daughter Isabelle is not a successful nature product, it is not his fault.

Another aristocratic weakness slightly peculiar to Germany is a drinking propensity highly hinted at

⁷ LE PRINCE ET BAUDRAIS, *Petite Bibliothèque des Théâtres*, Vol. 74.

in the name Trinquemberg,⁸ a name given to a baron. Yet it is this same Trinquemberg who saves his race in the eyes of Flaminia, an Italian girl. She prefers him to all other suitors, in spite of his ferocious dialect, because of a remarkable combination of qualities, with the German predominating. She wants a Frenchified German and the baron has been in France. She says (I, 6):

Or, un Allemand francisé est au point que je souhaite. Il prend, ici, avec le tems, ses degrés de politesse, et quelquefois même de galanterie. Il n'a ni les caprices de l'Espagnol, ni la jalousie de l'Italien, ni la volubilité du François, et conserve toujours sa constance allemande. Il n'aime ni trop, ni trop peu. Enfin il est mari raisonnable.

This wilful preference for a German suitor, although couched in negative terms, is well worth study. It reveals essential qualities that a discerning French mind like AUTREAU'S associated with Germans. Naturally, so he thinks, a German has none of that social finesse of bearing that marks the consummate lover and gentleman. If he possesses it, it is an acquired habit which makes him a most desirable companion. He does not inherit temperamentally either caprices, jealousies, or fickleness. He goes evenly and smoothly through life, distributing his affection judiciously. He makes an ideal husband, when, to his German foundation of solid qualities, he adds the grace and conversational charm of the French.

We to-day are rather familiar with these notions, and we may be prone to think of them as modern

⁸ AUTREAU, *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718).

when they are really not so. AUTREAU expressed them in 1718, at a time when there was no Germany, hardly a Prussia. But Germans were familiar figures in Paris all through the century, whither they were self-confessedly drawn by their intense desire to learn social custom. To the French they were in this respect a rather ridiculous people. Julie, a French girl, speaks ⁹ thus of a German baroness and her relative, M. Reiter, "officier allemand":

Je n'en puis plus. Bon Dieu, qu'ils sont plaisans!
 La Baronne surtout qui veut faire l'aimable.
 Quelle affectation! Quel accent effroyable!
 Ciel! Comme elle est coëffée! Et son cousin Reiter
 Qui parle son jargon, est encor mis d'un air . . .
 Non, je n'ai jamais vu de figure semblable.

The baroness is indeed a pitiable person. She is evidently making strenuous efforts to break into French society and is, of course, overdoing it. But Reiter, whose language is a jargon, is rather an engaging character. His appearance is perhaps a little forbidding because of his bristling nature. He badly frightens Dulaurier, a valet, who refuses to announce to him that his master does not want him admitted (III, 4):

Je ne lui ferai pas de réponse semblable;
 Je le connois, monsieur, il est brutal en diable.

Reiter, however, speaks fairly good French, and shows himself to be very sensible and polite. He exercises self-restraint even under provocation, and in excited moments only does he abuse infinitives,

⁹ BOISSY, *L'Impertinent malgré lui* (1729), Act 1, Scene 1.

the conventional way of making a German speak dialect:

Pour vos amis, Monsir, vous être trop poli. (III, 5).

Reiter is perfectly ready to admit his inferiority in social graces and is conscious of awkwardness in feminine society. But he perspicaciously points to the inevitable fallacy of a studied system of politeness when carried to the extreme. He says to his friend, Léandre:

Moi, plus grossier que vous, respecter mieux les femmes.
(III, 5)

He will not allow the patronizing Léandre to make fun of his relative, the baroness, although the Frenchman invites Reiter to laugh with him at his own cousins and aunts. This family facetiousness violates one of the sacred notions of the German heart; and at Léandre's insistence, a duel follows. The Frenchman wins but begs his friend's pardon later, having been brought to realize that the German was right in protecting his relative from ridicule.

From this interrelation, we gather the notion that not only were there friendly exchanges between one and the other nation, but that there was also a sense of inequality that was regulated by a feeling of justice and fair play on both sides. The German in France, in spite of the popular conception of his foibles, will get friendly treatment. And we are not surprised moreover to find in Luxembourg, then a distinctly German principality, a promising young

French officer ¹⁰ who outwits two German soldiers and whose conduct in the matter is justified by a German colonel because the soldiers used unfair tactics. They had tricked the Chevalier de St. Clair into tearing his cuffs of expensive lace by proposing a toast to the French king and tearing their own cheap cuffs. The chevalier retaliated by toasting the German emperor and getting a dentist to pull out a false tooth from his mouth. The Baron Cleinersdorff, their colonel, orders the two lieutenants, Rossbach and Wassbruch, who refuse to reply to the toast in kind, to lose two good teeth as a punishment for their trickery. We have here illustrated a case of German resentment against the success of a Frenchman, this whole situation of rivalry controlled by a guiding sense of justice on the part of a German official. In all of this, therefore, there can be no trace of essential unfriendliness. In this particular case, the disagreement is rather due to a feeling of jealousy, as Wassbruch's complaint easily shows (sc. 1):

Mais c'est M. le Colonel qui dit toujours; la Cheval Saint-Glair, il est charmant; la Cheval Saint-Glair, il est un grand officier; la Cheval Saint-Glair . . . et puis encore la Cheval Saint-Glair; cela il me feroit jurer contre le France tiaplement, voye-vous.

Even when we find a real hostility against the French, as is the case in MERCIER's *Le Déserteur*,¹¹ it is based on some personal hatred. In MERCIER's

¹⁰ CARMONTELLE, *La Dent, Proverbes Dramatiques* (1822), Proverbe LXXIV.

¹¹ About 1780.

play, M. Hoctau, a landed proprietor or a "Stadchouldus" as he calls himself, in a little German village on the French border, hates Frenchmen with a virulent hatred; but one feels that his grievance is richly fed by the fact that a successful rival for the hand of Clary Luzère is Durimel, a young Frenchman.

There are plenty of traces in these dramatic gleanings of the presence of enterprising young Frenchmen in various German cities. We have already met a singer, an officer, and the young Durimel who is directing a woolen factory for Madame Luzère, a German widow. CARMONTELLE¹² shows us how M. Dubreuil, in order to give his son a thorough training in banking, sees fit to send him to a large financial concern belonging to Herr Trotberg. These are unmistakable business relationships and exchanges. It is perfectly natural, then, to find Herr Trotberg the following year visiting M. Dubreuil. The German banker appears before us as follows: "habit vert, à brandebourgs d'or, boutonné, perruque à nœuds, chapeau et épée haute, avec cravate." This is no small business man and he shows his antecedents by the careful way in which he marks down on his tablet any new word that strikes his ear. His manner is very dignified, he is always careful. He makes many mistakes in the gender of French nouns and is puzzled by the fact that that language has at least two words to express the same idea. He creates a terrific disturbance in the house in his efforts to gratify a sudden desire for beer. He is a typical German financier, and there must have

¹² *L'Etranger, Proverbes Dramatiques* (1822), Proverbe L.

been many like him on business quests in France. Many must have settled in commercial towns like Marseilles. We find in that city a merchant by the name of Hamberg,¹³ a much respected citizen. His French and that of his son Leuzon are so perfect that one has to conclude they are descendants from a family long established there.

German ability in learning too, as well as in commerce, is somewhat acknowledged by our French dramatists. In GUEULETTE's *Le Trésor Supposé* we are introduced to the Vicomte de Shrigandorf, an illustrious German cabalist, who is asked to drive away by his incantations a fairy that guards a treasure. We meet also a doctor, really a Frenchman in disguise.¹⁴ His valet utters the significant words (II, 2):

. . . Mon maître
Est un noble Prussien, et Berlin l'a vu naître.
Mais il aime Paris par inclination,
Et parle bon François.

This, taken literally, would indicate even on the part of the home-loving German savant a desire to be in Paris, the magnet city that drew from the four corners of the world. Lisette, a servant in this play, thinks this foreign doctor exceptional for a foreigner (IV, 3):

Il traite en Gentilhomme, et sans rien exiger,
Poli comme un François, quoiqu'il soit étranger.

This is a blanket indictment for all aliens, including Germans. They are not expected to be polite and

¹³ JOSEPH PILHES, *Le Bienfait Anonyme* (1784).

¹⁴ BOISSY, *Le Médecin par occasion* (1745).

gentlemanly like Frenchmen; it is surprising to meet a foreigner who practises the conventional *savoir-vivre*.

But if in the imagination of French dramatists their German neighbors are not surfeited with a social *Gemütlichkeit*, they do picture their plain people full of the milk of human kindness. DEZÈDE ¹⁵ shows us a simple pair, a hotel-keeper and his wife. Their relationship is more homelike than loving. It is only when the wife pretends to coquet a wee bit with some of the house guests that her husband interferes with her freedom. She does it openly and very clearly to tease him. They perform every thoughtful duty they can possibly think of in order to ensure the comfort of their guests. The hotel-keeper voices his philosophy of life very quaintly (I, 1):

Levé avant tout le monde, couché le dernier, soins, activité, vigilance, exactitude et probité, voilà les moyens dont se sont servis mes bons ayeux & que j'emploie moi-même pour conduire ma maison. On doit toujours se distinguer dans son état & puisqu'il faut jouer un rôle ici-bas, je préfère celui de bon homme à tous les autres. Je suis d'un caractère facile, je ne rançonne, ni ne poursuis personne. Je plains ceux qui sont dans l'impossibilité de me payer & quand je trouve une bonne occasion de rendre service, je la saisis.

He seems to sound here some of the essential notes in simple German character, even as we think of it to-day — activity, exactness, honesty, contentment, kindness, love of home, service. Never would we consent to attribute this levy of virtues to the aristocratic city class. But who can say that the

¹⁵ *Auguste et Théodore* (1789). See note 2, this chapter.

peasant and the farmer have not their hearts, like their work, closer to nature? It may be that these simple folk do not look kind. The hotel-keeper's wife remarks this about her husband, when he determines to mortgage all his property to help a poor widow in her distress (I, 14):

Avec cet air brusque, qui croirait qu'il a l'âme si sensible?
Ces Allemands?

This hotel-keeper illustrates another notable tendency as seen by French dramatists — a tendency among German people to render into a philosophical system their mode of life. This could easily be turned into the ridiculous. But after we have read the innkeeper's *modus vivendi*, we are filled with a deeper respect for him and his view of life. We feel his kind optimism to be basic and unchangeable. And we have a reverence too for Madame Luzère, a German woman, who has lived a long life on the French border. She has penetrated in her contemplative wisdom the futility of land seizure and the fallacy of enmities. She even sees the folly of her own country in maintaining an iron-clad army. She speaks of German soldiers: ¹⁶

Qu'a fait pour nous cette milice avide, qui se disait nos alliés,
nos défenseurs; ils semblent n'être venus ici que pour devancer
les ennemis dans l'art du pillage. Ils ont pris tout ce que la
modeste loi de la guerre leur a permis d'emporter. Les Fran-
çois arrivent; on leur cède la place; ils ne feront pas pis que
les autres; ils vivront seulement a nos dépens.

¹⁶ MERCIER, *Le Déserteur*, Act 1, Scene 1. This author is neither the first nor the only one to have spoken thus.

Nor can she in her gentle way see any reason for international enmities, the incubus of the poor: ¹⁶

Qu'entendez-vous par ce nom d'ennemis? J'ai vu dès mon enfance la guerre changer vingt fois de face et d'objet. Les feux de joie succédaient aux massacres, on redevenait amis, après s'être égorgés. Le pourquoi de ces débats sanglans reste toujours inconnu, et je n'ai pas encore rencontré de militaire qui m'ait paru l'avoir deviné.

This is no ordinary woman who talks thus, and if the mass of any nation felt like her, there could be no war. All honor to MERCIER for having portrayed this type of mind, so modern in its concepts of the clashes of nations — perhaps a little too modern.

This same Madame Luzère has a guiding sense of the practical which leads her past the pitfalls of erroneous feeling. This practical nature is customarily associated with Germans. We have seen traces of it in the unromantic officer, Reiter, in the careful banker, even in royalty dispatching its business. Because of this quality there is a lack in the general depicting of German nature as we have reviewed it, a lack that is conspicuous to us because it is a quality frequently associated with the Spanish, the Italians, the Turks, and even to some extent with prosaic Englishmen. This quality seems more naturally to go with southern blood of Latin descent. It is hard to designate it by one term, for what word can embrace intensively romance, imagination, vision, passion, phantasy? Can we say Quixotism? At any rate, the English, as seen by the French dramatic eye, are but slightly endowed with this colorful characteristic and the Germans possess none of it. Only

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

once in all the century do we find a young German ¹⁷ who is placed in a highly romantic situation. But it seeks him out, not he it. He is the son of a poor German baron who has his home on the borders of the Danube. The three sister Fates are planning his life for him. He is to have manly beauty, the kind that is possessed by "un héros de roman." This makes us think of the tall fair-haired warrior of legend. But our lad is to run the gamut of ordinary experience, "le vin, le jeu, les femmes." In Paris he will be initiated into the mysteries of vice, and then he will go to England where the great romantic event of his life will take place. After a short sojourn, he will be secretly summoned one evening to a noble lady who is suffering from a fruitless marriage with an old lord. Yet his highly heroic act in helping the lady to a son is to be vilified, for our German will accept for his services in the matter an annual stipend from an unknown source. Thus the practical asserts itself in the very midst of a most entrancing incident.

LESAGE does not attribute in his satirical way very much charm or grace to the German lover. Neither does MERCIER. In one of his plays,¹⁸ a French invading officer is making overtures to Clary, a German girl, in order to make her delay her marriage with her lover. Says he (II, 3): "Charmanete, regardez-moi: ce n'est point un Germain empesé et ridicule qui soupire à dix pas de son idole; c'est un François" . . . to which Clary answers: "On le voit bien." And it seems sadly true that dashing French

¹⁷ LESAGE, *Une Journée des Parques*, Deuxième Séance.

¹⁸ *Le Déserteur* about (1780).

lovers are often preferred by the village damsels to their own ponderous swains. Hence the remarks in this play regarding the French officer in general: "L'officier François n'est pas déjà en trop bonne réputation dans ce pays." Nor is he more popular in Spain, where, as we have seen, he outrivals the capricious Spaniard.

The success of the amorous Gaul in his amiable quest is not so surprising in Germany, however, where love and marriage are pictured as rather formal affairs. The stiffness of the *marriage allemand* is well known even as far as Barostan, an imaginary Oriental city.¹⁹ Almoraddin, an Asiatic prince, fears that his father will not consent to his marriage with one of lowly birth. According to his companion: ¹⁹

Le roi suivant les apparences
Blâmeroit notre engagement.
Il est raide en fait d'alliances,
Comme un grand seigneur *allemand*.

While we have found no particular case where the tyranny of the German father imposes an unhappy marriage on one of his children, there is small room to doubt that the united life of married people was conceived as a narrow, confining existence. Faithlessness on the part of the husband was inconceivable, on the part of the wife impossible. In this respect the Parisian custom was an astounding revelation to the German visitor. Le Baron d'Ornbruck ²⁰ has traveled a great deal, but nowhere has

¹⁹ LESAGE, *La Reine du Barostan* (1730), Scene 10.

²⁰ CARMONTELLE, *Le Mari*, Proverbe LXXVII.

he found, as in Paris, the husband so insignificant and unobtrusive. A visitor in many households, for weeks he believed that the women were widows. Such conditions could never exist in Germany, of that he is sure. There, a married woman has but one husband and no lovers. Imagine therefore the problem that confronts a German who falls in love with a French girl. This is the pitiable case of M. Pitre-mann, "ce fameux violon de Mannheim." He asks M. de Vigneul to help him gain the lady's heart, and pleads thus: ²¹

J'ai pour l'année toujours plus de mille ducats, voyez-vous; & je puis avoir encore d'autre avec. J'ai vu un Demoiselle où j'ai soupé dans son logis; c'est un Fille qui est charmant et cela il feroit un bien joli Femme pour moi, & Monsieur il connoît, voilà pourquoi je dis.

This is delicious prose for an eloquent Teuton, and CARMONTELLE, who knew German well, gives to his sentence an unmistakable tinge. M. de Vigneul warns the ardent suitor that the lady has a very questionable past, but he, brave gallant, is undaunted, borne out as he is by the customs of his own country: ²¹

Je demande pardon pour moi; chez nous on dit autrement, un Fille il n'a point de Mari, ainsi il peut faire et puis la mariache il fait qu'on pense plus après comment le Femme il a fait avant.

This is an unusually liberal view, entirely ahead of us moderns. It seems therefore debatable whether Germans really entertained such a notion. It seems

²¹ CARMONTELLE, *La Courtisane Amoureuse*, Act I, Scene 8.

hardly probable that they considered leniently on the part of an unmarried woman what they severely condemned for their wives. If what CARMONTELLE tells us is authentic, then it is amusing to note that it is directly opposed to the conventional conduct of the Frenchman, who gave to the married woman more latitude than to her solitary sister.

The Germans, then, are not pictured by our French dramatists as notorious loose-livers. We have met them in various guises, to be sure, and we have seen many of their good qualities as well as some of their bad ones. We have learned about the musical vagaries of some, the foolish social aspirations of others, their complete subservience in matters of etiquette to the French, straightforward justice in their military camps, the good broad-hearted kindness of the common man, a tendency toward philosophizing, their careful method of doing things, their sense of the practical. We find also dramatic mention of them as subject to a habit which we are prone to-day to associate with them. In one of BOISSY'S *divertissements*,²² we find them a beer-drinking crew, who unite Bacchus and Venus:

Trinquier & zoupirer tour à tour.

LESAGE in his *Une Journée des Parques*, pictures vividly in the dialogue of the three sister Fates the debauch that four Germans are having in "Strasbourg" with two French comédiennes. They have emptied two hundred bottles of wine in the last twenty-four hours. The men fall dead, the actresses remain alive, for they are very useful to the

²² *La Frivolité* (1753)

Fates. MOISSY²³ credits Germans with an invention which ought to endear them to the hearts of our modern social whirlwind set, the invention of an indecent dance. This is the *allemande*, a dance in three-four time which resembles the older style of waltz and for which Bach, Handel, and Haydn have composed. The horrified French father in the play will not let his little boy learn the *allemande*, but substitutes the minuet.

With this shocking accusation against German pirouetting, our general presentation of French dramatic thought regarding a neighbor draws to a close. We must admit that the study reveals a lack of real relationship between the two countries, a relationship that is based on equality. We learn rather of the superiority, socially and artistically, of the French. Paris, that flashing center of the universe, is a lodestar whither are drawn in adoration the eyes of all who pretend to refinement, to intellectuality, to human intercourse. This is especially true of Germany in spite of the ascendancy of the Hohenzollerns. The correspondence of GRIMM with the courts of Germany is a noble testimony to this avidity for Parisian thought and scandal, just as LA HARPE's relation with the Grand Duke Alexander of Russia and FAVART's with Count Durazzo of the Austrian court bear out the same tendency. It is therefore psychologically not surprising that if the French are the teachers of these eastern nations, they have the resultant impression that they have but little to learn from their pupils. A lack

²³ *Le Menuet et l'Allemande, Les Jeux de la Petite Thalie* (1769), Proverbe III.

of interest is the inevitable consequence, and a lack of acquaintance too, a lack of desire to learn about their neighbors on the east. There were of course great French visitors to the German states, such as VOLTAIRE and MAUPERTUIS. But VOLTAIRE's stay in the Prussian court was rather a separation from France than a union with Prussia. The multiplicity of his unfriendly relations, the breaking of his life's dearest tie, the glittering offer that confronted him, all these combined to make him go to Frederick to become one of the unbearable international assemblage of sages. This invitation of Frederick's has often seemed a sort of symbol or epitome of the connection between France and Germany during the eighteenth century.

II — LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS

There are hardly any to make. Plays with German characters are not common writing. Only a few authors who, like CARMONTELLE and FAVART, have cultivated their acquaintance in Paris, can undertake to present them with authentic, though slight, touches of dialect and dress. We have seen how FAVART, because of his ambitious zeal, pictures the whole world, and Germans among others, as overjoyed at the recovery of King Louis. The news flashes through Hungary, Piedmont, Italy, Flanders, and Berlin. Prussians especially are glad, because, as a French pamphleteer explains,²⁴

Le Roi de Prusse et notre maître
Par les armes se sont unis.

²⁴ *Le Bal de Strasbourg* (1744), Scene 5.

CARMONTELLE is practically the only one who has conscientiously endeavored to give his foreign characters a touch of realism. He does this mainly by dress and dialect, with a few clear strokes of character delineation. Thus, in his *Le Prince de Wourtsberg*, his list of *personnages* contains this description:

Le Prince Wourtsberg — Souverain — Habit vert, brodé en brandebourgs en or, cordon jaune bordé de rouge, plaque d'argent sur l'habit, chapeau et épée, coiffé en aile de pigeon, grand toupet.

<i>La Princesse Gudule</i>	{	Robes riches, beaucoup d'ornements
<i>La Princesse Ulrique</i>		dans leurs coiffures en argent, en
		diamants et fleurs, contenance gênée
		avec des éventails.

La Grand Chambellan — Habit brun et veste jaune brodés en argent, grande perruque brune, gants, canne, chapeau, et l'ordre du Prince.

Frédéric — Valet de chambre du Prince — Habit vert galonné en or avec des revers, boutons plats, petite perruque ronde.

This description certainly gives us a little glimpse of German royalty and its surroundings in clothing. Few modern playwrights would give more complete sartorial details for an innkeeper than CARMONTELLE does for Pitermann: ²⁵

Pitermann, maître du Café. Veste jaune, habit vert à boutons plats, manches à la matelote, perruque noire, col noir, sans chapeau.

CARMONTELLE, like BOISSY and FAVART, was a shrewd listener and thus renders rather faithfully, by changes in spelling, the mispronunciations and mis-

²⁵ *Proverbes Dramatiques* (1822), Proverbe LXXIV, *La Dent*.

constructions of Germans who attempted to speak his language. Here are a few examples:

Non, non, envoye-vous Frédéric, et dites aussi à mon musique pour l'accompagnement de venir avec.²⁵ Je dirai comme vous il chante fort pon.²⁶ Paris il est toujours joli. Je suis été fort charmé de ma dernière voyage.²⁶

From these and others quoted above, we observe a few infallible recipes for the making of German talk, viz., mistakes in gender, wrong prepositions before infinitives, prepositions at the end of sentences, redundant pronoun after the subject, wrong auxiliaries, sound of *sh* for *g* and of *p* for *b*. Throw in an occasional guttural exclamation, with a generous profusion of "Ah! men gott! men gott!"²⁷ and the product is very worthy.

Some of CARMONTELLE'S German characters are unable to speak French at all. To obviate this difficulty an interpreter is introduced. This is the rôle of Baron Schloff in *Le Prince de Wourtsberg*. In print this play appears with a line ruled down the middle of the page, with German on one side and, on the other, an adequate French translation of all the German sentences. One has the choice of reading the whole *proverbe* in broken French and pure German, or all in good French, a neat little device which should surely please all readers.

From a literary point of view there is little to praise in these plays. Some of CARMONTELLE'S proverbs, short plays with a moral to teach, are amusing. BOISSY'S *L'Impertinent malgré lui* has cleverness,

²⁵ *Le Prince de Wourtsberg*, Scene 4.

²⁷ *La Dent*, Scene 4.

and the author's masterly ability with the alexandrine makes that famous line appear as a useful comic implement. Perhaps best of all is MERCIER's *Le Déserteur*, which is alive with a tense dramatic situation that stirs our war-oppressed hearts of to-day. But since all serious plays, slight or great, had to be written in the style that the tradition of CORNEILLE and RACINE demanded, practically all of these works stop short for want of dramatic breath and die the death of the unfit.

THE ENGLISH

THE ENGLISH

A GREAT French thinker who lived three years in England and who in that time had met all ranks from the king down, learned to love her greatness. In a serious way VOLTAIRE sings of this fervent appreciation: ¹

Ses peuples sous son ² règne ont oublié leurs pertes;
De leurs troupeaux féconds leurs plaines sont couvertes,
Les guérets de leurs blés, les mers de leurs vaisseaux:
Ils sont craints sur la terre, ils sont rois sur les eaux;
Leur flotte impérieuse, asservissant Neptune,
Des bouts de l'univers appelle la fortune:
Londres, jadis barbare, est le centre des arts,
Le magasin du monde, et le temple de Mars.
Aux murs de Westminster on voit paraître ensemble
Trois pouvoirs étonnés du nœud qui les rassemble,
Les députés du peuple, et les grands et le roi,
Divisés d'intérêts, réunis par la loi;
Tous trois membres sacrés de ce corps invincible,
Dangereux à lui-même, à ses voisins terrible;
Heureux, lorsque le peuple, instruit dans son devoir,
Respecte, autant qu'il doit, le souverain pouvoir!
Plus heureux, lorsqu'un roi, doux, juste et politique,
Respecte, autant qu'il doit, la liberté publique.

England, great on land and sea, with her capital city the home of art and commerce, and her Westminster a symbol of the people governing, had captivated

¹ *La Henriade*, Chant I.

² He refers to Elizabeth.

VOLTAIRE's imagination. It is true that he had perforce left his own land and had been welcomed in England with munificent friendliness. But VOLTAIRE, the greatest of all Anglomaniacs, does not here exaggerate his admiration, even if his terms be suggestive of flattery. His debt of gratitude for his reception was amply paid by these sincere tributes, not counting his adulatory expressions.

What was there then about the English and their ways that drew from this eager, thin-faced philosopher an appreciation so heartfelt? Well may we ask, for we shall find that the French dramatists' thought concerning their Channel neighbors was predominantly like VOLTAIRE's, ranging from favorable admissions to fervent flatteries. Certainly we cannot account for this essential friendliness of relation by the political status between the two powers. The merest glance at the history of the century will reveal to us France shorn of all her colonial glories, and England in triumphant possession of them, having filched or wrenched them away. Governmentally the two nations have little in common, and artistically even less. How could a visitor from the immaculate white city learn to care for the murky black one? MONTESQUIEU saw nothing at all to admire in English architecture; and London, he agreed, prompted thoughts of suicide. Even in literature we can hardly find an explanation for this strange phenomenon of Anglo-French amity. It is true that there were almost constant streams of influence and exchange. Yet these were in the main but weak minglings, borrowings and imitations that hardly rippled the surface of each nation's individuality.

How then shall we explain this surprising phenomenon of two great nations, conscious of each other as rivals, apart spiritually, mentally, and morally, differing too in their social and philosophic outlook, dispartes in almost every conceivable respect, yet withal attracted to each other in some imperceptible way? Shall we call it a case of the attraction of opposites? Only a prolonged and deep study of the relations, historical and cultural, of England and France can indicate more clearly the bases of this astonishing international *entente*, whose terms are undefined, yet whose permanency seems unquestionable. In spite of wars and quarrels this psychical adjustment remains harmoniously balanced. JEAN FINOT, a modern French critic, has endeavored to penetrate the mystery, and by his method has established a new science which might be called Political Psychology. He says:³

The French, considered to be a Latin people, were supposed to be necessarily haters of the English who were looked upon as a Germanic people. Yet there is scarcely any Latin blood in the French, and the formation of the English people, their blood, their collective soul, their civilization, and their interests, ally them indissolubly to the French root. Study of Anglo-French history will show that despite all preconceived ideas, the two peoples, separated by mutual ignorance, are merely two branches of the same tree, sprung from the same trunk. . . .

They quarrel often, but unconsciously keep rendering each other services. Everything in their history proves the existence of some mysterious element which, rising above the obstacles created by events of the moment, subordinates these to a pre-existing force of moral and intellectual solidar-

³ Excerpt from *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1915.

ity. Thanks to this reciprocal influence both peoples have arrived at the consciousness of their political personality, conquered their liberties, and given form to their national genius. . . .

It seems as if nature had chosen these two peoples and made them similar in order to make a picked pair which in spite of temporary troubles, should go through life perfectly contented with the always beneficent and salutary support given by each to the other. And, in order that the pride of neither may be hurt, first France, then England, takes the rôle of savior, protector, or benefactor of the other.

This does not exactly explain the phenomenon, but it is interesting to note that FINOT takes cognizance of it and indicates its psychological nature. Moreover its mere existence connotes an explanation or understanding of it. A study like the present one can form a little stepping-stone and perhaps afford a closer view.

The plain facts of history which bear on the connection between France and England during the eighteenth century, if read without an interpretative faculty, would be fatally prejudicial to the solution of this problem. For what do these facts reveal to us? Stated in utter nakedness, attached to their respective dates, they reiterate unfriendliness, enmity, clash:—

- 1704. Battle of Blenheim. — English drive French out of Germany.
- 1706. Battle of Ramillies. — English drive French out of Netherlands.
- 1717. Triple Alliance. — Selfish union between England and France.
- 1720. Danger of war. — Agitation because of tenure of Gibraltar by England.

1729. Treaty of Seville. — Commercial union between England and France.
1733. Danger of war. — Results in pact between France and Spain for mutual protection against England.
1738. Questions concerning North America appear. — Struggles between English and French settlers.
1744. France declares war against England. — Attack on English coast by French fleet is prevented only by heavy storms.
1746. Another proposed invasion of England on behalf of the Pretender, Charles Edward.
1748. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. — No colonial losses yet, but French navy and commerce suffer severely.
1753. Seizure by French of English colonies — Ohio Valley. No war results.
1756. Seven Years' War. — France and Austria allied against England and Prussia.
1756. William Pitt's control. — An English minister whose policy was avowedly anti-French.
1759. French fleet practically annihilated at Lagos and Quiberon.
1761. Second pact between Spain and France for protection against England.
1763. Peace of Paris. — France loses North America and India.
- 1763-1770. There is peace but little cordiality between the two countries.
1778. France aids American colonies against English.
-
1786. Commercial treaty between England and France. Signs of fast developing friendship.

These facts stand out clearly in the relationship between France and England as indicative of unceasing struggle. One might call the period from 1715 to 1815 a second Hundred Years' War. England's intense ambition to control the world-seas brought her into immediate conflict with France;

the only great power that had the courage and strength to stay her. Yet, in all these hard-fought battles, the heart of neither country was very intimately concerned. This fact robs the struggle of its ardor and defeat of its sting. The wars of the eighteenth century are eminently created by cabinets and factitiously carried on by mercenaries. No country at any time is nerved in its effort by the encouraging consciousness that it is fighting for the cause of civilization. On the contrary, each nation is concerned as an individuality in a colossal struggle for the dominance and the survival of itself as the fittest. The enthusiastic nationalism of William Pitt is as repellent as the cynical nationalism of Frederick the Great, for neither is generous and noble. Each struggles to exalt his own nation to a height from which she need fear no rival.

Because of this unintelligent clashing, the sting of defeat is not felt too greatly by the vanquished, especially when the losses consist mainly in the deprivation of far-away and unknown lands. The French were hardly ever a great colonizing nation. Even in their occupation of Algeria, there were many opposed to the apparent detraction of interest from the home-country. The loss of Canada, a vast expanse which they peopled in no invigorating and systematic manner, could mean but little to Frenchmen. Their lack of appreciation of the importance of these American possessions is again proven by the more peaceful method in which, in 1803, they disposed of Louisiana for a mere song. The plea of necessity may mitigate the error, but it cannot conceal its true provenance.

Since, in these questions that we are trying to solve, we are dealing with the general thought and feeling of great masses of the nation, it seems evident that Englishmen, taken as a race, could not appear antagonistic. The mass of neither nation had little share in the political manœuvres of the clique in power. An English army never entered upon French territory, just as the French transports never reached the English coast. With Calais visible from Dover and Dover from Calais, the feeling of conquest which had in the fourteenth century inspired in England a sense of political possession of France, changed in the eighteenth to a desire for commercial advantage. Such rivalry, no matter how fierce, could not stimulate hatred, and it was likely to bring peoples together in greater mutual understanding.

Historically, then, if we enter into the spirit that animated the two countries in their century of fighting, we can find but little trace of that real enmity which lights the fires of a nation and keeps them burning till their blaze has devoured the hated race. FAVART, that most occasional of French poets, sings in 1756, when England and France are pitted against each other, in the lightest and most carefree manner, against the owners of the sea: ⁴

Trop longtemps d' ces Tyrans d' la mer
L'orgueil amer
Nous ballotte;
Mais malgré la fortune et l' vent,
J'allons au d'vant
De leux Flotte.

⁴ *Le Mariage par escalade* (1756), Scene 7.

Contre st'Amiral Bing,
 Zing,
 J'tons not' décharge.
 Et ces preneux d' vaisseaux
 Sots
 Gagnent le large..

These words, even though sung by a French tar, Vadeboncœur, cannot be taken to reflect a very serious or stubborn naval opposition to England's schemes. They show us the light-hearted Frenchman in an adventurous mood, ready for the fun of the game, with little realization of its stakes. He is so generous an enemy that at the slightest defeat he inflicts, he stands ready to raise his prostrate foe and praise him for his resistance. So FAVART again addresses to the English these honeyed words on the occasion of the seizure of an island by his country's soldiers: ⁵

Pour vous ce n'est point une honte,
 Gémissiez moins de nos succès:
 Anglois, chéris de la Victoire,
 Vous ne cédez qu'aux seuls François;
 Vous n'en avez pas moins de gloire.

We may call this sheer optimism, or a lack of understanding of the dangers of the situation. But when, even in those present troubled times, it was possible to place serenely before the public English characters endowed with nobility, sincerity, and kindness, how could we to-day gather that French enmity and hatred were sternly aroused, that in the hearts of the French people there burned a sullen resentment against their northern neighbors?

⁵ *Le Mariage par escalade* (1756), Scene 15.

If we add to this interesting lack of basic antagonism between two great nations, a rapidly developing intimacy in the realm of thought and art, we have a pretty strong proof of continued amicable exchange during the whole century. This intimacy can be easily traced, a clear vivid line of influence that is wonderfully fascinating to study. In England we see it in evidence in an Anglo-French series of writers whose works were widely welcomed by the classic formalists of France. POPE, the Boileau of Britain, had his *Rape of the Lock* translated into French four times (1728, 1738, 1743, 1746). His *Essay on Man* and the *Essay on Homer* also won wide approbation. SWIFT'S *Gulliver's Travels*, DRYDEN'S *Montezuma*, MILTON'S *Paradise Regained*, ADDISON'S *Cato*, were all translated before 1740, and all reveal to a remarkable degree the sway which a French thinker like BOILEAU exerted over English minds that were classically inclined. Even ADDISON'S *Spectator*, a work so singularly indigenous, was translated in an edition of eight volumes, from 1714 to 1754. The smooth colloquial prose of that talkative journal must have seemed normal to the conversational French stylists. It is true enough that these translations were often unreliable and that often, too, the thoughts of our English satirists were not fully comprehended. MONCRIF, a French academician, emphasizes in *Gulliver's Travels* the imaginative creativeness and thereby reveals the fact that he fails to see the satiric character of the work.⁶ Yet these Anglo-French writers were read with great appreciation, their French qualities were highly lauded, and

⁶ MONCRIF, *Œuvres Mêlées* (1743), page 7.

allowances were made for those features of their work which seemed foreign and hence untrammelled by the heavy classical laws of form and style.

Because of these laws, rapidly become more and more unsuited to the genius of the French people, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century, all forms of expression had remained rigid while their content had dwindled. The freer spirits had chafed under these rules imposed by the inheritance from a RACINE and a CORNEILLE. Yet the greater number of writers continued in the classic style, turning out epics, odes, epistles, tragedies, comedies, all in the same mold with perhaps a different set of names or events. A hundred years of this kind of regulation would naturally terminate any fresh and vigorous spontaneity. It was time for a change of fashion. There was little inspiration to be obtained from the literatures of Spain and Italy, both well known to the French and already exhaustively imitated, as we have seen. There was England, to be sure, with her pure English writers, an indigenous Anglo-Saxon school that had one name to conjure with, SHAKESPEARE. But their works, to the few Frenchmen who had ventured to become acquainted with them, seemed barbarous, their taste unrefined, their language uncouth. Even VOLTAIRE, who was among the most daring in this exploration of the cavernous depths and mysterious forms of SHAKESPEARE's genius, could discern only the fact that the beauty of our dramatist's work seemed drowned in a thousand follies,—boorishness, rudeness, indelicacy, the very qualities so acclaimed by the English populace.⁷

⁷ VOLTAIRE, *Lettres sur les Anglois*, Lettre XVIII.

The truth is that the French were not yet attuned to the English thought and its mode of expression. Aware of this fact, translators who undertook a task like rendering SHAKESPEARE into their language, were forced into the most pitiful stratagems. LA PLACE, who did into French ten of his plays as well as single works by OTWAY, BEN JONSON, ROWE, DRYDEN, CONGREVE, YOUNG, and ADDISON, substituted everywhere expressions in good taste for the more questionable forms employed by his English models. He suppressed rough characters, replaced by the barest analyses whole scenes the language of which was too brutal, and, to cap the crime, he forced the whole of this English torrent of free genius to meander in prisoned alexandrine canals! The one thing LA PLACE cannot forgive in SHAKESPEARE, and no Frenchman of the time could, is that with all his high-born characters he mingles base, low ruffians and boors, whose language is as offensive as their presence. Their introduction on the stage in the midst of all this titled nobility offends good taste and good sense, affirms our classic-fed Frenchman. And then, to have people actually die on the stage in such great numbers! How could a French audience suffer such an undignified procedure?

Up to 1740 it is safe to say that the essential nature of the indigenous literary production of England precluded its acceptance by the French. Then a miracle happened. In 1742, an English novel was translated. Those who read it had read many others in their own language, novels of adventure, novels with a moral to teach, romances of chivalry or of pastoral life, novels of satire, of portraits, and of

fables. This new work was not different in form from these others, but it added another type, the domestic novel. RICHARDSON'S *Pamela* created a furore. People at first read its sober and moral pages with pleasure, then with admiration, then with enthusiasm. It was on this occasion that DIDEROT chanted a veritable dithyramb in RICHARDSON'S honor:

"O Richardson, Richardson, thou standest unique before me, thee shall I read for all time . . . thou shalt remain side by side on my shelves with Moses, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles" . . .⁸

From 1750 to 1760 English novels have a tremendous vogue in France. They are all translated as fast as they are received, good or bad, old or new. RICHARDSON, FIELDING, SMOLLETT, STERNE, BURNEY, S. JOHNSON, and a hundred others, find themselves named across the Channel with fervent admiration. It is astounding to note that their popularity was hardly dampened by the Seven Years' War. French readers devoured this literature mainly because of its novelty. It led them near lower circles of life, into small bypaths that revealed the poor and the humble. It showed them in a sort of transfigured light the beauty and truth enshrined in the unassuming lives of the unnoticed, the sweet nature of those whose time on this earth was full of tribulations. Such types had rarely before invaded the sacred precincts of literature. Yet they possessed definite individuality in the minds of their creators and were

⁸ DIDEROT, *Eloge de Richardson* (1761). For a splendid study on *Diderot and English Thought*, consult CRU, Columbia University Press (1913).

given real names. This too was novel to our French readers, for they had been accustomed to invest the solitary Léandre or Valère with all the qualities necessary to make him figure in any romance of passion or idyllic adventure. As a result we see DIDEROT calling his famous "Père de famille" M. d'Orbesson, and SEDAINE his noted and unwitting philosopher M. Vanderk. Names become a means of identification and the situations become human and natural. The novel from across the sea had made the first inroad upon literary artificiality.

Then came a newer and even greater influence, that exerted by English poetry, an influence that grew out of the translation in 1759 of THOMPSON'S *Seasons*. An efflorescence of nature thought, encouraged by YOUNG'S *Night Thoughts*, GRAY'S *Elegy*, GOLDSMITH'S *Deserted Village*, and other poems, eventually became apparent in French literature, especially in the prose novels of the late eighteenth century. BERNARDIN DE ST. PIERRE and CHATEAUBRIAND are wonderful French manifestations of this literary phenomenon. The purity of nature and its grand beauty, the avowed melancholy of solitude amidst its lovely forms, such ideas work their way into the minds of French writers and give us *Paul et Virginie* and *Atala*.

The general admiration for English literature and its untrammelled creations rose to such a degree that SAURIN, who had himself adapted an English play in his *Beverlei* (1768), felt called upon four years later to write another⁹ wherein he ridicules the rapidly growing imitation and worship of things

⁹ *L'Anglomanie* (1772).

“à l’anglaise.” He explains in an instinctive psychological way the basis of this international enthusiasm: ¹⁰

Je ne sais si j’ai besoin de dire que dans cette comédie je n’ai pas prétendu jeter du ridicule sur les Ecrivains illustres qu’a produit l’Angleterre. Je les admire et je les respecte; je n’ai voulu attaquer que cet enthousiasme aveugle de nos Anglomanes, que cette espèce de culte qu’ils rendent aux Auteurs Anglois, peut-être moins pour les exalter, que pour rabaisser les nôtres. Ce travers prend sa source dans la jalousie secrète qu’on porte aux hommes célèbres de sa nation, jalousie qu’on ne s’avoue pas, mais qui n’en est pas moins réelle. Les grands hommes étrangers ne font pas ombrage à notre petitesse . . .

It is therefore not surprising to find that by 1776 French readers are sufficiently imbued with the English spirit to be prepared for the real SHAKESPEARE, who can now be translated in unmodified form. LE TOURNEUR, CATUILAN, and FONTAINE-MALHERBE published the first volume of his *Œuvres Complètes* in that year, and in a remarkable preface defended his genius against the affrighted exclamations of thin, over-delicate minds. Say they, in their epistle to the king: ¹¹ “It is barbarous to think that half the human kind is vile refuse, unworthy of the pen of genius, to be simply scorned.”

It is easy to trace in these lame democratic gropings the germs of the approaching Revolution. One can discern a powerful incentive to the Anglomania that dominated Frenchmen in the days immediately

¹⁰ In his *Avertissement*.

¹¹ *Œuvres de Shakspeare*, transl. of LE TOURNEUR, Vol. 1, Epître au Roi, page 7.

preceding the Revolution. In fact, though the thought is open to question because of its hazardous nature, one cannot avoid wondering how much of French friendliness and esteem for the English people, which as we have seen is characteristic throughout the century, was due to an intuitive and unreasoning process in the minds of a race suffering from governmental oppression, but born for freedom. We shall find traces of great respect for the Englishman and his democratic politics. A country where a clever pamphleteer might hope to become a great statesman, where the close relative of a director¹² of the king's councils might be found busily working in a counting-house, where the nobility did not disdain to adopt some line of occupation that happened to interest them, certainly such a Utopia might well arouse the class-ridden citizens of France. The fermenting influence of England on the aspiring minds across the Channel cannot really be overestimated, as our closer study may show us.

Let us conclude this general attempt to suggest the political and literary relationships of these two great lands in the eighteenth century, by gathering a few impressions from the actual life of the time. We know, for example, that Charles Edward, the Jacobite Pretender to the English throne, lived in France, and that he and his ambitious little retinue were a great object of interest wherever they happened to be. They were regarded politically in a rather friendly way, since their presence in France constituted an ever useful menace against England. Similarly, there were large numbers of French refu-

¹² Lord Townshend.

gees in London, where they found a hearty welcome. They had their own place of worship and their particular coffee-house.¹³ They soon learned to speak English, though they were linguistically at home in England, most educated men and women being conversant with French. In France, English was read by many of the frequenters of the literary salons, though it was certainly not a current means of speech. VOLTAIRE was such an apt pupil that he learned not only to speak the foreign tongue well but to write it even better. His little volume published in England in 1727, containing two essays composed in the language he had begun to acquire the year before, is a marvel of diction and style, which, some say, would have reflected no discredit on SWIFT or DRYDEN.

Among the great literary Frenchmen of the century who visited England, there are three whose impressions might interest us here. One of them, VOLTAIRE, went as an exile. He included his impressions in his *Letters Concerning the English Nation*, which, though written in French as *Les Lettres Philosophiques*, appeared first in translation in London. This measure was taken by the author to justify and assure their eventual appearance in France, for well he knew the storm they would raise at first across the Channel. The year 1734, the date of the publication of these letters, marks an epoch in Anglo-French relations, literary and social. As CONDORCET observes¹⁴: "This work created among us a time of revolution,

¹³ The Rainbow.

¹⁴ *Vie de Voltaire, Œuvres Complètes*, Vol. 1, page 208. Ed. Garnier Frères (1883).

in which was born a liking for English philosophy and literature; it interested us in the customs, and politics and commercial advance of that people; it stimulated a spreading knowledge of their language." VOLTAIRE met all the social and literary lights of the time, POPE, YOUNG, CONGREVE, BOLINGBROKE, THOMSON, FALKENER, SWIFT, BERKELEY. He admired the beauty of English women. He noticed with appreciation the dignity, in English life, of trade. He understood how the liberal attitude towards literary aspirants, coupled with the actual freedom of the press,¹⁵ encouraged genius and enabled it to win both fame and fortune.

Altogether his impressions are much more favorable than those of his less scintillating confrère, MONTESQUIEU. The author of *L'Esprit des Lois* visited England after VOLTAIRE had left it, and stayed about two years, till 1731. He, too, was presented to the king, George II, but he cared more to study the customs of the people than to meet them on equal social terms. Besides, he was more interested in the religion of England, her politics, her parliamentary debates. From his letters and his *Notes sur l'Angleterre* we gather that at the very outset he realized that he was in a country unlike any other in Europe. He studied particularly the aristocracy and the middle classes and noticed the gross sensuality everywhere prevalent. It was a sensuality that was evidenced especially in their devotion to the material things of life. Merchants were well protected, England was growing rich. Men were becoming bluff, coarse and unmannerly in

¹⁵ Toleration Act (1695).

their ways. The imaginative faculty seemed atrophied with disuse and real devotion to the public weal was not common. It was true that so far as the government was concerned Englishmen were the masters of their own destiny. Yet they did not seem to appreciate their liberty, so MONTESQUIEU felt, for they sold it. Every vote could be bought, some of the Scotch members of Parliament disposing of theirs for the annual stipend of £200. Unlike the condition in France, where money was freely spent, things were done in England to get money.

Nor were other customs or conditions that he met on the great island any more agreeable to him. On every hand he found reserve and coldness, a lack of social warmth that chilled even him. He found it difficult to make friends. This was very different from VOLTAIRE'S experience, and, also unlike VOLTAIRE, MONTESQUIEU found English women repellent, without beauty, without religion, without manners. Socially, there was neither politeness nor rudeness in their approach, simply an entire lack of manners. This is interesting again in its contradiction with the amusing episode of VOLTAIRE, who spoke so unblushingly about his stomach troubles while at dinner at the Pope household, that poor Mrs. Pope felt obliged to leave the room.¹⁶

We have gone into all this detail concerning MONTESQUIEU'S impressions to show that French admiration of their neighbors was sometimes tempered, and that one discerning mind was not carried

¹⁶ J. C. COLLINS, *Voltaire in England*, page 44, or JOHNSON'S *Life of Pope*.

away by appearances, but burrowed underneath and found the bad as well as the good. For MONTESQUIEU adds to his unfavorable comments many praises, particularly of the quick-witted intelligence that he met among all classes. He was astonished at the number of daily and weekly journals, about twenty, that were widely read. He was infinitely pleased with the freedom of the press which voiced the opinions and sentiments of innumerable sects and factions. England, he says, is the freest country in the world, and we cannot do him an injustice by thinking that perhaps he said it regretfully as he thought of his own land and how he had been forced shortly before to drape his anonymous satire on her customs in a Persian garb, all for the sake of safety.¹⁷

ROUSSEAU, the third great French literary visitor to England, went over in such a stress of circumstance, driven out as he practically was from France and Switzerland, that his mind must have been somewhat affected. He was therefore too selfishly concerned to pay much outer heed to those who welcomed him. Yet what a welcome it was! DAVID HUME, himself at the height of his own reputation, went over to Paris in 1765 to meet the disconsolate and homeless writer, and escorted him into England. In spite of the fact that ROUSSEAU's stay was an unhappy one, owing entirely to his own uncompanionable temperament, not a word of accusation can be uttered against the treatment he received. It was most regal in its munificence, most angelic in its patience with the author's vagaries.

¹⁷ *Lettres Persanes* (1721).

The story of his visit reveals how his philosophy of nature had come to dominate English minds and how his greatness as a thinker was appreciated by a nation justly famous for its own philosophers.¹⁸

In the impressions of the three illustrious French visitors, as well as in those of other men who came into contact with the English, this power of thought seems to be naturally associated with them. In our plays we shall often meet the morose Englishman, sunk in silent meditation. That this notion of him is popular in the eighteenth century is indisputable, and that it is quite truly characteristic is extremely probable. The Puritanic struggle of the preceding century had left an indelible mark in every direction on English national development. Out of the reaction against the Commonwealth and its stern principles, there came, to be sure, a relaxation in public morals. But this deplorable condition was accompanied by a compensating element, the widespread sincere eagerness to discuss problems, political, social, or even religious. The intense interest manifested in the way the country was governed, the desire to understand the basic facts concerning its social organization, the need of strong-minded men to grapple with the vexatious problems of a fast growing country, these were some of the causes for this intellectual efflorescence in Englishmen. It was a time in their history when the pen was as mighty as the sword, if not more so.

With this slight reconstruction of some of the elemental generalities about the English and the

¹⁸ HUME, GIBBON, LOCKE, HARTLEY, PRIESTLEY, BERKELEY, HOBBS, CLARKE, SHAFTESBURY, SMITH, WARBURTON, etc.

French in the eighteenth century, we can now pass on to a study of our plays, in the hope that they will fill in the details, and build up for us a composite picture of the Englishman as he appeared to the French dramatists of the time and to their audiences.

I — ENGLISH KINGS

Our plays afford us some interesting pictures of the noble-born of England. We have lords, or the more usual milords, in their varied attitudes toward life. But our dramatists quite daringly present to us a brace of kings, though we must hasten to add that they had been long dead and therefore quite historical. One is Richard Cœur-de-Lion, dear to the hearts of the French to whom he was akin, and familiar because of his titular characterization. He looms up heroic in SEDAINE'S play,¹⁹ a figure of blended fact and legend. He is always referred to as "ce héros, ce grand homme." We find him languishing in prison in the Château de Lintz, in Germany, after his Holy Wars in Palestine. Blondel, his court-poet, in reality a French singer whom this legendary association with Richard has immortalized, finds his master in prison and frees him by an assault. SEDAINE'S musical play is a delightful staging of the Blondel legend and deserves the revival it has received.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion is a very human king in spite of his greatness. We are a little startled at first to meet him as a prisoner, chafing impatiently at his chains not because of pent-up valor, but

¹⁹. *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (1784).

because he is separated from his lady-love. He sings as he gazes at her picture (II, 2):

Si l'univers m'oublie,
S'il faut passer ici ma vie,
Que sert ma gloire, ma valeur?
Douce image de mon amie,
Viens calmer, consoler mon cœur,
Un instant suspends ma douleur.

Our great crusader mourns in this idyllic vein his lost freedom, and this presentation of him is incompatible with our idea of the fearless adventurer. Nevertheless, so well written is this "comédie en musique," that we are led to listen to its gentle strains with pleasure, and the spirit of it makes us forget its inconsistencies.

SEDAINE presents to us yet another English king and this time we may suspect the author of a shrewd purpose, though he has disavowed it. In his *Le Roi et le fermier* (1762), we meet a king who has lost his way in the hunt. A gamekeeper finds him and, unaware of his identity, conducts him to his simple hut and invites him to partake of the humble fare. Royalty is thus divested of its wonted trappings and is made human. The king is in for the adventure, and without a shadow of distrust he complies with Richard the gamekeeper's request (II, 3):

Tenez, voilà mon bâton, il vous aidera à marcher dans les sables, donnez-moi votre épée qui peut vous faire tomber.

This is idyllic security, yet perfectly normal between ordinary men. And later, around the fire, when

every one has sung his cheerful ditty, the king joins in with the rest (III, 12):

Ah! quel plaisir, quel plaisir, de lire
 Dans les yeux d'un peuple attendri
 Tout ce qu'inspire
 La présence d'un roi chéri.

That a king could be so normal is incredible, even if he be English. The attitude towards royalty in the whole play is respectful beyond reproach. Yet, because the ruler of France could never appear as simple man, it was inconceivable that the ruler of any other country should do so. How could a king be the hero of a comedy, anyway? Can one imagine a sovereign hustled around on the stage like a common actor, tapped on the shoulder by peasants, and in general behaving in so undignified a manner? It wasn't true to life. SHAKESPEARE might create such a character, but SHAKESPEARE was an untutored dramatist. Besides, with a Louis XV on the throne of France, the play could not go. Injustice was a peculiar weakness of his and he could not bear to take any hints from the stage. He tabooed COLLÉ's *La partie de chasse d'Henri IV* (1764), written two years after SEDAINE's work and with the same plot. SEDAINE himself had to make certain changes, as he admits in his preface:

Jamais scène au théâtre n'a ouvert à tout poète une plus vaste carrière, un moyen plus simple pour faire entendre des vérités utiles sans manquer à la vénération profonde dont il doit être pénétré.

Entraîné par la scène et par le lieu où elle se passe²⁰ et par

²⁰ The scene is in England — a forest.

l'original anglois qui m'a beaucoup servi, j'avois fait dire à mon fermier des vérités de toutes les cours et de tous les temps; mais quelques personnes animées de ce zèle que j'aurois eu peut-être moi-même à leur place, ont cru voir des duretés; ils ont fait changer cette scène et elle est représentée telle qu'elle a été changée.

SEDAINE admits frankly that his comedy is an adaptation of an English play,²¹ which he found in a serviceable French translation.²² But the importance of his admission lies in the fact that this play with its humane type of sovereign has an English original. This fact emphasizes an already well-marked tendency in the Frenchman's thought of England and her freer government. Unlike those other adaptations²³ of English plays which completely Frenchified plot, character, and even name, this one shows that the author felt the necessity of preserving the atmosphere of the original by his scene — "en Angleterre" — and his names — Richard, Betsy, Jenny, Lurewel. Even this precaution did not prevent voices of protest at the liberties taken. To the nobles, England and her liberal ideas must have represented a baleful and threatening influence.

As has been indicated, the king, really Henry IV, to whom legend has attributed this forest episode, is pictured by our dramatist simply as an adventurous good fellow, and not at all with any aspersions on royalty. He reminds us vividly of SHAKESPEARE'S

²¹ DODSLEY'S *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*.

²² PATU, *Le Choix de Petites Pièces du Théâtre Anglais* (1756).

²³ e.g., DESTOUCHES, *Le Tambour Nocturne* from ADDISON'S *The Drummer*. See Appendix.

Henry V. Jenny, a shepherdess whose flock has been stolen, consoles herself (I, 10):

Je veux ravoir mon troupeau. Le roi doit chasser encore demain; j'irai sur son passage, je me jetterai à ses pieds, il m'écouterà; il ne seroit pas roi s'il n'étoit pas juste.

This confidence in the justice of the lord of the land is certainly no sign of lack of respect. Yet it is such a reference that was likely to upset those unbalanced conservative minds who so wretchedly mismanaged France. SEDAINE'S royal character thus gains added significance because of his political nature. We must come to regard the English king as a dangerous person for the established order in France.

II — ENGLISH ARISTOCRATS

Among the many milords we meet in these plays of the eighteenth century, we discern various interesting types. To LOUIS DE BOISSY,²⁴ who died in 1758, is due a good deal of credit for developing in a clever way several definite kinds of Englishmen and presenting them to an appreciative public. Among his characters, the milord that approaches closest to perfection from the standpoint of a French audience, is certainly the one who is most akin to it in thought and act. Milord Craff²⁵ of London, one of BOISSY'S characters, must have seemed an Anglo-French person of an ideal sort. His philosophy of life is surprisingly similar to that of Le Baron de Polinville, a French nobleman visiting England.

²⁴ For a recent excellent work on this author, consult ZEEK, *Louis de Boissy*, Grenoble (1914).

²⁵ *Le François à Londres* (1727).

Neither is swayed by light influences, such as the fashion, unreasonableness, prejudice, but both are devotedly attached to a system of conduct serenely free from thoughtlessness. Thus, while milord Houzey, Craff's son, is trying with all his might to imbibe the French social graces, and while Le Marquis de Polinville, presumably the baron's brother, is declaiming on the superiority of his country's manners, Craff and the baron avoid this lack of equilibrium, and maintain a calm friendly attitude. We come to respect Craff's deliberate reflective manner, which is inherited by his daughter Eliante. Father and child unhesitatingly agree that the silly foppery of the marquis makes him an undesirable suitor, while the baron with his common sense and his courtly manner is preferred.

This rendering of an English lord so that he appears to be quite an ordinary Frenchman, is, however, only one of Boissy's gifted ways. In another of his plays,²⁶ he presents to us the English Count of Neuilli, a nobleman of the heroic type. Neuilli has voluntarily followed his friend Sussex into exile in France. When the latter died, he entrusted his wife and daughter to his friend. For safety, the girl is brought up as the daughter of a French marquise. She learns to love the son of her foster-mother, who is, however, opposed to their marriage because of the girl's poverty. Neuilli himself is passionately devoted to Sussex's daughter, but when he hears of her love for the marquis and of his mother's opposition, he stifles his own hope and removes obstacles for the young lovers by set-

²⁶ *Le Comte de Neuilli* (1736).

ting his fortune on his ward. This is an illustrious model of a guardian and we must consider him a paragon of virtue for this one act of self-sacrifice, not counting many other kindnesses which he has an opportunity to perform in the long stretch of this "comédie héroïque" of five acts. Nelton, his servant, says of him (I, 1):

La renommée est juste à l'égard de mon maître,
Elle ne peut jamais trop vanter ses vertus;
Et quoi qu'elle en publie, elles sont au-dessus.

.
Sa patrie est partout où son cœur généreux
Peut verser, en secret, ses dons aux malheureux:
Sa vie est un tissu d'actions héroïques;
Père de ses vassaux et de ses domestiques,
Il soulage leur peine, il prévient leurs besoins,
Et le plus misérable obtient ses premiers soins.

Neuilli has an optimistic human philosophy that carries him over rough places, and it is interesting to note that its main feature is its emphasis on service to humanity. This recognition of the generous, kindly impulse in Englishmen is fairly common among our dramatists; in fact we meet it several times in a very peculiar way. CAR-MONTELLE, the writer of dramatic proverbs, illustrates the point in a little play called *Les Deux Anglais*.²⁷ Milord Wittham is tired of life. He has wealth and power, yet he is not happy, because his weighty cares give him no rest. He resolves to commit suicide. Milord Henri, a fellow countryman, has just lost all his wealth in a shipwreck, and, penniless, he too determines to die. The two meet on

²⁷. *Proverbes Dramatiques*, No. 2.

a bridge where they have planned to carry out their resolution. They fall to talking; and when Wittham learns of the other's financial ruin, he gladly gives away his wealth, ready to do a kind act before his death. But in the doing of it, he realizes a sudden joy, which makes him desire to live on just in order to experience anew this joy caused by giving and doing for others. We are led to imagine that his lonely life blossoms into an optimistic generosity. We find again in PATRAT'S *L'Anglais ou le Fou Raisonnable* (1781) and in FALBAIRE'S *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771) this queer birth of altruism on the verge of suicide. The importance of this lies in the notion it implies that the English lord, though surrounded with luxuries and amusements, is still a stern thinker. He is not the care-free aristocrat of the French, but a rather gloomy one continually preoccupied with important matters, as if he never allowed himself time for recreation. A French marquise states her impressions of Lord Brumton, one of these meditative gentlemen, in these terms:²⁸

Il est brusque . . . mais il est franc.
 Sa fierté qui paroît choquer la politesse,
 Relève en lui l'air de noblesse
 D'un homme qui soutient son rang.
 Son maintien est froid . . . mais . . . ses yeux ont de la
 flamme
 Et je lui crois une belle âme.

This is a kindly description, for Lord Brumton is a most unamiable gentleman, prone to offer rebuff. Yet our witty French marquise penetrates this

²⁸ FAVART, *L'Anglais à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 1.

outer wall of coldness, and believes that she sees within a sensitive as well as a proud soul. Because of her wise perception she later attains his love and his hand. We can readily see how a vivacious Gallic brunette might succeed in melting her way into the icy formality of even a haughty milord who takes such elaborate pains to conceal a truly beautiful nature.

However, the French audience of the time was not given only these high types of nobility upon which to feed their English curiosity. This very meditative attitude so frequently attributed to the English aristocrat might well become in time an object of ridicule; for who can prevent the wicked thought that silence sometimes hides a lack of intelligence as well as a profusion thereof? Our suspicions are justified in the year 1778, when a certain acquaintance with their lordships might lead Frenchmen to revised opinions of them. DORAT in that year put upon the stage a most pitiful caricature of an English aristocrat.²⁹ He is Lord Arlington, speaking of whom Lord Rochester, a clever pamphleteer, says (I, 2):

Par exemple, quel mal de faire un peu justice
D'un Arlington surtout, qui, né pour mon supplice,
Sous le grave appareil d'un silence apprêté,
Enferme ses projets moins que sa nullité;

He goes on with the other lords:

D'un Duc de Buckingham, qui ne pensant qu'à peine,
Fait des contes le soir pour endormir la reine;
De tant de Courtisans, tant de Lords désœuvrés
Ivres de politique, ou d'ennuis dévorés?

²⁹ *Le Chevalier François à Londres* (1778).

Once the lord has become even to a slight extent ridiculous, his comical attributes multiply plentifully. He becomes pompous and is always afflicted with gout or with spleen, — as DORAT calls it, “Suppléen.” His Lord Arlington, who imagines himself to be an important official of state, finds it necessary, when he plans to travel to a watering place in order to cure his spleen, to go in disguise. He makes himself even more foolish, or Lord Rochester makes him so, by his laconic replies to questions affecting the government, which he cannot really answer (II, 4). On the stage this scene must have provoked shouts of laughter, for even after every monosyllabic response, there is a long grave pause in the conversation. Here are some of the questions and answers:

<i>Questions</i>	<i>Answers of Arlington</i>
Comment vont les affaires?	Bien.
De la Cour que dit le Peuple?	Rien.
A-t-on de l'Ecosse assoupi les querelles?	J'attends les paquebots.
Les révoltes d'Irlande?	On y rémédiera.
Quant aux nouveaux impôts?	Un Bill y pourvoira.

Lord Arlington has in his brief way solved all of England's weighty problems. The scene is a very clever burlesque on an English political conversation, with its sententious and pithy gravity.

From the comic to the immoral is but a step in the downward scale, and we find some awful examples of English libertinism set before us by our dramatists. In fact in one play,³⁰ given in 1776 at

³⁰ *L'Ecole des Mœurs* (1776).

the Comédie Française, the author, FALBAIRE, attempts to point out certain lessons in conduct to be drawn from his Lord Belton's unspeakable behavior. FALBAIRE's purpose is sufficiently evident from the subtitle to his drama, *Les Suites du Libertinage*. Lord Belton is a rake with not an ounce of fair play about him, and the sex-life is the only one he leads. His wife, whose days are embittered by her husband's escapades, tries in her anguish to palliate his offence (I, 3):

Et, je dois l'avouer, ses grâces, sa figure,
Tous les aimables dons que lui fit la nature,
L'aidant toujours trop bien à séduire, à charmer,
On dispute souvent l'honneur de l'enflammer.

We pass over this rather slighting hint of immorality among English women, to note that Lord Belton, in addition to his other accomplishments, is a hypocrite as well. He resorts to subterfuge in order to make his wife think that he is repentant. He hopes in that way to inveigle her into taking with her to their country home the young Henrietta, their maid, upon whom Lord Belton has set his eyes. We must do him the justice to say that he is consistent enough to believe that his son, too, has a right to forbidden joys, only—and this the father earnestly repeats—he must not let himself be caught (I, 10):

On ne vous défend pas quelques amusements.

.

Se laisser arrêter comme un grand imbécille!
Soyez à l'avenir plus sage.

Charle,³¹ the chip of the old block, is as disgusting a rake as his father. His sole ambition is to gain the esteem of his fellow-profligates by the boldness of his misdeeds, and every failure in his scheme serves only to earn him their mockery. The result upon him is deplorable. Passing by a house, one evening, where a wedding is being celebrated, he breaks in upon the happy assemblage and attempts to carry off the bride. He is of course captured by the police, and thereupon receives the fatherly admonition already quoted.

To relieve the sad impression produced by these two graceless rascals, let us add that Lord Belton has a second son who is exactly the opposite of his father. Jame³¹ is a kindly lad, much too good for anybody about him. He is sincere and generous. The presence of this kind character is a dramatic necessity in a play of such unrelieved villainy. Incidentally, it was a just check to accusations against FALBAIRE of biased presentation of English aristocrats. We shall discern his true purpose later.

We have now seen the haughty nobles of England in several guises, the philanthropist, the optimist, the pessimist, the thinker, the fop, the fool, the libertine. Let us add one more very general type to our composite dramatic picture, that of the lord who has embraced some literary or political pursuit. Politically, a nobleman in England had much more to do than play the courtier, so that those who embraced this profession faced an arduous life with many vexatious problems. Politics was rather a

³¹ s omitted to meet the exigencies of French versification.

profession than a sport. Nor was it unusual even for those who were concerned with public affairs to take up in semi-serious vein the art of writing. The viscount BOLINGBROKE represented in actuality in the first half of the eighteenth century the English lord, perpetually involved in political factions but nevertheless finding time to develop his mind and to write articles of serious philosophic import. We are not surprised, then, to discover a trace of this naturalness of occupation, even among the idle nobility, in BOISSY's play.³² Lucile, a French girl, ardently wooed by Milord Guinée (Guinea), is surprised that the Phantasy he has had acted before her was written by him. He answers with pride (II, 10):

Bien loin qu'il en rougisse, un Lord, dans mon pays,
Fait gloire ouvertement de pratiquer lui-même
Les Arts qu'il récompense & les talens qu'il aime.

When we think of the Maréchal de Saxe and his inept orthography and compare him with his English contemporary Peterborough, we feel the mental accomplishment of the latter to be certainly greater. It is interesting to note that, according to Milord Guinée, the English writer wants his work known. The French nobleman did not condescend to do more than circulate his thoughts among those of his own class.

We get a pleasant reminiscence of POPE or SWIFT in DORAT's character, Lord Rochester. He is a biting satirist and his ironies often awaken governmental resentment. Yet he fearlessly takes up the

³² *La Surprise de la Haine* (1734).

cudgel again and strikes for the right in his keen way. A valet says of him:³³

Je ne suis pas surpris que l'ordre de la Cour
 Enferme tous les mois son esprit dans la tour.
 Il vous peint tout d'un air qui ne vous fait pas rire.

This detracts somewhat from our notion of the liberties enjoyed by the English press because of the Toleration Act of 1695. But we gather from the play that Lord Rochester, like the more modern SHAW, paints people as such immoderate fools, that one might well lose patience with him and his disrespectful irony.

Our plays rarely indicate the personal appearance of these noblemen. We have already met with a description of Lord Brumton, that saturnine thinker. D'ALLAINVAL, in a Prologue to one of his plays,³⁴ writes a fable, in which appear in the order mentioned, "Sire Lion, Mylord Rhinoceros, Le Seigneur Eléphant, et tel autre gros dos." It is perhaps a bit unfair to indicate *in extenso* Milord's proportions by this abrupt title applied to the portly rhinoceros. But who will deny that he may have deserved this caricaturistic touch as he appeared before the eyes of his lean French brother? In our plays, however, the actor who filled the part naturally supplied his own corporeal dimensions, so we must not overemphasize this impression. Our dramatists were interested mainly in the milord's manners and his mind, and so are we.

³³ DORAT, *Le Chevalier François à Londres*, Act 1, Scene 1 (1778).

³⁴ L'ABBÉ D'ALLAINVAL, *L'Ecole des Bourgeois* (1728).

III — ENGLISH LORDS IN EXILE

From the Hanoverian succession to the English throne in 1714 to about 1747, when an Act of Pardon reinstated political refugees who were then in the service of the Pretender in France or Spain, the stirring annals of the relationship of England and Scotland reveal a process of adjustment to their recent union, with the natural attendants of friction and struggle. Since 1707, their United Parliament, in which Scotland's representation was fractional, had passed acts opposed in various degrees to principles already enacted into Scotch law. It was natural then, because of this inevitable lack of harmony, to regard Scotland as a landing ground for England's enemies coming from over the sea. We have already seen how James, the Pretender, and his son Charles Edward were used as political pawns in the hands of the European prime-ministers. Scotland was half sympathetic with the claims of these ousted Stuarts, and the records of the first half-century show numerous uprisings of the clans and their leaders as part of well-prepared schemes to dislodge the Hanoverians. We know that these did not succeed, the English being too wary and their insularity working for their protection from continental forces. A natural consequence, however, was the execution or exile of such families as the Carnwoths, the Kenmures, the Nairnes, and the Mackintoshes, as well as of dissatisfied Englishmen who lent their men and their services to the Jacobite movement.

France was not only a convenient home for these

dispossessed sympathizers of the royal Catholic scion of England, but it was a convenient base for operations. When conditions in London became too hot for suspects in the anti-Hanoverian cause, they might, as Mar³⁵ did, flee to Scotland, but they certainly were safer across the Channel. The relationship, quasi-forced by its nature, that thus sprang up between the English exiles and their Gallic entertainers, finds very interesting expression in many of our plays.

For example, we are not surprised to discover in Boissy's *Le Comte de Neuilli* (1736) mention of Paris as a haven for distressed refugees, and the hint, too, that some of them devoted any wealth they happened to possess to aiding their fellow unfortunates. Speaking of Neuilli's generous activity, Nelton, his valet says (I, 1):

Paris des Etrangers fut de tout tems l'asyle;
Milord, pour les aider, a choisi cette ville.

We must note that all this is voluntary on the count's part. He has simply followed his unfortunate friend Sussex who, he affirms, has been unjustly exiled (I, 3):

Quand je fuis un pays funeste à l'innocence,
Indigné contre lui, quand je n'aborde en France
Que pour y regretter, par un deuil éternel,
Un ami condamné sans être criminel:

This irritation against his own land seems quite proper even to us, when we consider for a moment the high-souled gentleman who voices it. England,

³⁵ English agent for James, the Pretender.

if she had become known to Frenchmen in the first part of the eighteenth century only by the great mass of refugees who left her, could not have inspired much respect for her reputed liberty. She does not appear as a land free from envious intrigue and cowardly spoliation of the weak by the powerful. In Boissy's play, this is what a French marquise believes concerning the true reasons for Sussex's proscription (III, 5):

Accusé faussement par une brigue lâche,
 Il vit son nom flétri d'une éternelle tache;
 On proscrivit sa tête, on confisqua ses biens,
 Et l'aveugle fureur dégrada tous les siens.
 Aux noirs traits de l'envie injustement en prise,
 Ce malheureux seigneur se sauva dans Venise;

This story of the exile of an innocent aristocrat rather awakens our sympathies; and a French audience was likely to share in its generous impulsive way Neuilli's resentment for his friend's needless expatriation. A Frenchman could not consistently feel well-disposed toward a man who had been driven out of his country for plotting against the king. But England was famed for her toleration, evidenced by such laws as the Act of Pardon (1746). In spite of this fact our plays indicate a merciless pursuit of those who sinned against the government. Indeed, if we would take the testimony of our French dramatists, the Act of Toleration (1695) was hardly more than a law on paper. We have already met Lord Brumton, the proud nobleman of the fearless gaze. His independent spirit, we must gather, is the reason for his exile:³⁶

³⁶ FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 1.

. . . Il s'est mêlé d'écrire
 Contre le Ministère Anglois.
 Ses oppositions, ses clameurs, ses pamphlets
 Contre des Magistrats que l'on vouloit élire;
 Un esprit turbulent ennemi de la paix,
 Son zèle amer, le fiel de sa satire . . .

Writing, even in England, we see, was a dangerous occupation when the writer presumed to criticize too openly those in control.

An interesting little geographical note with regard to our exiles is implied in FAVART'S *L'Anglois à Bordeaux*. The action of this one-act comedy takes place in Bordeaux, as the title indicates. But there is a reference in one of the scenes ³⁶ to the fact that Lord Brumton is the only Englishman in Bordeaux. This sounds probable enough, since our banished noblemen would naturally prefer Paris, the center of activity, for their permanent base. Bordeaux, with its harbor at the mouth of the Garonne, would afford an excellent haven for which to aim in the effort to attain safety eventually in Paris.

From this brief study, we have been helped to gain a little the point of view of the French regarding these forced English visitors. But we must not think that the only Englishmen who crossed the Channel were exiles, nor that our plays were the only means for the dissemination of knowledge concerning them. Undeniably, however, our comedies do reflect to a great extent the popular notion of the day regarding these comers from the British Isles. Let us then study further to understand a little more how the English met the French and what the French thought of the English.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

IV—ENGLISH ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRENCH

If it was natural for the French, because of the high degree to which they had developed social amenities, to dictate the laws of etiquette to the less cultivated German circles, we can readily agree that England, accused of a lack of manners by MONTESQUIEU, might also regard France as her social mentor. Even a cursory examination of the English comedy of manners of the eighteenth century reveals the frequent mention of this relationship. The bluff and sturdy merchant³⁷ might regard with suspicion or amusement the airy graces of his southern brother; not so, however, the English nobleman who would more likely be tempted to mimic them. Lord Houzey,³⁷ an imitative character we have already met, is very young, and that fact partially explains the readiness with which he takes up the vicious life imported by the Marquis de Polinville from Paris. Lord Houzey is by nature not bad; he is even willing to admit that before he became acquainted with his social preceptor he had been a little bashful in the presence of ladies. But, thanks to his lessons, he has changed (sc. 6):

Je suis sémillant, je badine, je folâtre, je papillonne, je voltige de l'une à l'autre, je les amuse toutes. Je parais poli, respectueux en public; mais je suis hardi, entreprenant tête-à-tête.

We thus meet a rather vivid example of the result upon one young Englishman's mind of the infiltration of borrowed customs in society. His head is

³⁷ A character in Boissy's *Le François à Londres* (1727).

completely turned by his familiar French guide whom he regards as the mirror of social graces and whom he therefore impetuously seeks to imitate. His ambition is expressed by himself (sc. 14):

J'ai l'air François! Ah! Monsieur, vous ne pouvez me dire rien dont je sois plus flatté. C'est de tous les airs celui que j'ambitionne le plus.

Despite his violent attempt to Frenchify his conduct, Houzey realizes that there is something lacking, some element that brands him as an imitator (sc. 14):

C'est un je ne sais quoi qui nous manque, que je ne puis exprimer.

Perhaps this element is precisely what has always distinguished the imitative from the imitated. Milord Houzey's sister, Eliante,³⁸ sees it more definitely, and she probably hits the nail on the head when she speaks of her brother's counterfeited demeanor (sc. 7):

Il se gâte plutôt et le voilà enrôlé dans la coterie de nos Beaux d'Angleterre; engeance ici d'autant plus insupportable, qu'elle a tous les vices de vos petits maîtres de France, sans en avoir les grâces.

To a level-headed English girl, and our plays show us a few, these imitative social gambols seem disgusting.

In fact this refined quintessence of graceful showiness might in general seem quite futile to the mass of sturdy English society. People were more

³⁸ A name often given to widows and older women.

inclined to use discretion toward one another, feelings were not fluently expressed, and the general attitude was that of restraint. For this, Anglo-Saxons were well known. It was therefore an unwonted sight that greeted the eyes of the French lady, Orphise, when she saw a supposed Englishman throw himself at her feet, even before he had said a word, in order to soften her heart towards him. She naturally exclaims:³⁹

Comment donc, un Anglois à tel point se transporte!
Il commence d'abord au premier entretien,
Par se mettre à genoux! . . .

This to Valère, a Frenchman, who has, for some reason which ROMAGNESI's insipid play does not make clear, disguised himself as an English milord. Yet his ready, witty responses would betray him, if his disguise did not. To Orphise's remonstrance at his un-Saxon conduct, he quickly retorts:⁴⁰

. . . Quand on commence bien,
On finit de la même sorte.

Orphise. On m'avoit dit que Messieurs les Anglois
En agissoient avec plus de décence.

Valère. Oui: mais quand nous sommes en France,
Nous faisons comme les François.

This is a pleasant affirmation of the psychological fact that foreigners traveling in a country are naturally inclined to adopt, if only temporarily, the customs of that country. It might, however,

³⁹ ROMAGNESI, *L'Amant Protée* (1739), Act 3, Scene 4.

⁴⁰ The words "en Anglois" indicate that ROMAGNESI intended the actor to say these lines in English.

lead to some interesting discoveries to investigate further the conduct of these visiting Englishmen. Might we not find certain traces of a rather ready letting down of the bars of restraint, bars maintained with such a show of decency in their own land?

CHARLES COLLÉ bears us out in this uncharitable suspicion. In a play called *La Vérité dans le Vin* (1747), we meet two Englishmen, both lords, who have resided in France some twenty years. They have prospered exceedingly, using their influence in society in return for monetary considerations, for the worthy purpose of aiding social climbers to obtain a perch on the ladder. Mylord Sindereze and M. l'abbé Kensington are a pair of as low rascals as one might care to meet anywhere. They deal mainly with middle-class women, whom they impress with their imposing rank. Madame Dupuis's words reveal a little the moral code in vogue in France, of which the milord takes advantage. She says to her friend, the wife of the Président Nacquart (sc. 1):

Tout le monde sait que cet Anglois a fait votre mariage avec M. Nacquart, et qu'il avoit de bonnes raisons pour cela; et l'on a vu, depuis, Mademoiselle votre fille appeler constamment ce bon Mylord son petit papa, et, comme je vous dis, cela n'a révolté personne . . . cela a paru naturel . . . tout simple . . . Je vous en ai donné la raison; c'est qu'il y avoit de la dignité dans un pareil choix . . . il auroit fallu avoir de l'humeur et beaucoup pour ne pas trouver cela décent. Un Mylord, un Pair d'Angleterre, un Chevalier de l'Ordre de la Jarretiére!

So much for Milord Sindereze whose stay in France is a tissue of such acts. He is bad enough,

but Kensington is worse. M. Dupuis accuses him in the following terms (sc. 11):

. . . toujours d'un côté et d'un autre avec des coquines . . .
Après avoir soupé avec ces impures-là, au point du jour,
M. l'Abbé les mène boire du ratafiat à Neuilly, et c'est lui
qui mène la calèche: . . .

Even so, Madame Nacquart yields herself to his wishes in return for his efforts in behalf of her social ambitions. Yet he breaks her submissive patience at last by a final vice which he has added to his overstocked catalogue:⁴¹

Livré au jeu, où il s'est ruiné déjà une fois; accablé encore de nouvelles dettes; sujet, enfin, à un dernier vice, qui n'est plus même de mode, un vice bête! l'ivrognerie . . . l'ivrognerie . . . défaut misérable et bas, qui est, depuis longtemps, banni de la société des honnêtes gens . . . et même de celle des ecclésiastiques!

However painful the impression we get from these two unworthy visitors to French shores, we must accept them as part of the record of the life of the eighteenth century. They must stand as certain characters found in every nation, rascals ready to take advantage in a foreign country of the superiority that their rank in their own affords them. That there were such Englishmen we cannot doubt. But we can state here that the preponderance of the worthy characters of that nation in our plays might indicate that the Kensingtons were few and far between. We certainly cannot carry away with us from our readings among the dramatists the impression that Englishmen were universally

⁴¹ Said by Madame Nacquart, Scene 7.

thought of as morally deficient. On the contrary, we find many an amusing passage that indicates how straight-laced they were, a condition implied in the way they were shocked at things they saw in Paris. The recently landed Lord Ridling⁴² cannot get over the fact that at the Opera the girls are after all the chief interest and that during the performance the men portion them out for enjoyment afterward. M. de Prétendrière defends the system by claiming that such is the custom, even among married men, which serves only to shock the sensitive Ridling all the more.

This lord's displeasure seems to be justifiable, according to BOISSY. In one of his plays⁴³ we are introduced to Miss Blar, "comédienne angloise," who has come over from England to learn happiness from the country in which it was said to abound. She, too, is surprised at the licentious system in vogue among actresses in Paris. The suggestion that she join the ranks and become the mistress of some nobleman who happened to admire her beauty or talent, draws from her a just protest:⁴⁴

Jamais je ne m'allie avec aucun Milord.
Notre profession à Londres est glorieuse.
Le défaut de mérite est seul déshonorant.
Une actrice de nom, quand elle est vertueuse,
Peut aspirer chez nous au parti le plus grand;
On y rougit du vice & non pas du talent.

⁴² CARMONTELLE, *Le Sac d'Aroinc, Théâtre de Campagne*, Paris, Ruault, 1775.

⁴³ *La Frivolité* (1753).

⁴⁴ Scene 3. Her words remind us sadly of Adrienne Lecouvreur and Madame Favart.

This is natural and pardonable pride, though Miss Blar might be accused of a little leniency. But her words do reveal a characteristic point of view, whether assumed or sincere we need not discuss. We can safely say that this English actress takes her work seriously and does not believe that her main purpose is to attract men. On this point she scores French women: ⁴⁴

Ne vivre que pour mettre une coëffe, un panier,
Ah! j'aimerois autant orner un espalier.

In some cases, this repugnance towards French ways amounts to sheer unreasonableness. We have already met Lord Brumton, of whom a Frenchman says: ⁴⁵

Il nous déteste tous, sans vouloir nous connoître;
Cet homme est anti-Gallican.

And, in fact, he is, ridiculously, violently, crazily anti-French, in spite of the fact that he is an exile in their country and is being treated with most angelic kindness. Happening upon his daughter Clarissa reading a French novel, he throws it out of the window, snapping out impatiently (sc. 2):

. . . Occupez-vous de Lock,
Ma fille; lisez Clark, Swift, Newton, Bolingbrok,
Songez que vous êtes Angloise;
Apprenez à penser. . . .

The idea of a young marriageable girl being told to learn how to think must have been very amusing to a French audience. They probably felt that only

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scenc 1.

an English father could be so brutal and unsympathetic. But Brumton's impatience singles him out as an extreme and unusual type of English traveler, for he can see nothing good in Frenchmen (sc. 6):

Je ne vois que des jeux, je n'entends que des ris,
 Chanteurs importuns! doubles traîtres;
 Avec leurs violons, leurs tambourins maudits,
 Incessamment, exprès, passer sous mes fenêtres,
 Pour me troubler dans mes ennuis!
 Tous les jours des sauts, des gambades,
 Et tous les soirs des sérénades!

Music certainly could not have been so popular in England. Happy uproar, demonstrativeness, expression of joy, these simple manifestations worry our unaccustomed aristocrat. He naturally objects also to the luxury displayed on all sides. His constant surprise at the comfort and beauty of things about him awakens in our minds distrustful images of dim and unadorned English rooms. Milord finally vents his spleen on a clock, a real French clock with its rich old flowered carving and its intricate beauty. He sees in it a significant symbol, for to him it is typical of the French, this bedecking and adorning even of the flight of time. As he meditates over the problem of international differences, he is suddenly illuminated with regard to the French (sc. 2):

Ce peuple est toujours gai jusques dans ses revers;
 De tout il se console, & par sa façon d'être,
 Un François est heureux, un Anglois cherche à l'être.

This subtle analysis sounds like a real truth and does seem a wonderful illustration of the influence upon historical events that the genius of a nation may

exert. The French nation, in truth a suffering people in the latter half of the eighteenth century, unfortunate in its colonial expansion, physically exhausted by its expensive wars, groaning beneath the weight of an intolerable system of taxation that pauperized the poor and accrued to the benefit of a few powerful individuals, this nation, actually so wretched, appeared nevertheless to be the most happy. Its enthusiasms, its reckless enjoyment of the present, its innate verve, enabled it to wear a semblance of care-free joyousness that often softened its own suffering and charmed away the rising unhappiness of many days and years. But for this optimism of soul and mind, would not the French Revolution have come in the Regency or, perhaps, more probably toward the end of Louis XV's reign, a period marked by indelicate decadence and scurrilous indecency which alienated the people from their government? It is worth remarking and pondering that Englishmen, of sterner cast, gave vent to the highest climax of their struggle for freedom, in the execution of their king one hundred and forty-four years before the French. Between two nations, both wonderfully alert intellectually, yet responding so differently to a similar autocracy of government, there must be some basic psychological divergence, to be sought not only in events, but also in the minds of the people.

These dissimilarities our dramatists have felt and have endeavored to set down in their rich comic way. We who read them to-day in the light of historic interpretation can appreciate the truth in these pictures of the past so lavishly given to us. And when FAVART reveals to us in his clever way his percep-

tion of differences and oppositions, he not only sets the stage, but in his dialogue we see the life of his time revived. We feel the pulse of activity animating these ancient forms. The drama is essentially a medium for the expression of life, and thoughts and feelings reach us that could not have come to us by any other means.

How clearly we can perceive relations when we observe people mutually reacting on one another! No description of Tomson, an English naval officer, could show his spite against his French enemies so vividly as his own words uttered in their very presence. He refuses to exhibit even the ordinary military amenities when he is captured. Instead, he exclaims angrily:⁴⁶

Bon, bon, l'Anglois, peuple sensé,
De tous égards s'est dispensé;
Un Anglois doit-il reconnoître
Quelques vertus dans les François?
Non, qui les estime est un traître.

He seems to reflect sadly on his own nation, especially when he continues:

Ont-ils connu dans ma patrie,
Cette noble férocité?
Chez eux au courage on allie
Une imbécille humanité;

This might be termed boomerang criticism, and it does incidentally indicate to us the French perception of how seriously the Englishman takes himself. He sees but little romance in fighting; it is rather a stern business, of which hatred is a natural concomi-

⁴⁶ FAVART, *Le Mariage par escalade* (1756), Scene 1.

tant. The Frenchman can see good points in his adversary and even respect him for his power. Not so the Englishman. If the French are his enemies, he will reason himself into an antagonistic frame of mind that will permit no deviations. FAVART accuses him of this systematic ill-will which permeates even his education:⁴⁷

. . . Dès qu'un Anglois respire,
On prépare sa haine, on le nourrit de fiel;
Contre nos agrémens on prévient son enfance:
Eviter avec nous la moindre ressemblance
Est le principe essentiel.
Un Anti-Gallican nous juge mal, & pense
Qu'un peuple qui s'amuse est superficiel.

We must mitigate the rather bitter harshness of this criticism of FAVART's by reminding ourselves that it was written towards the end of a protracted struggle with England in which France had been worsted. As time went on and wounds were healed, the two countries drew commercially together, and their *rapprochement* seems to have been so simple that the historian might well question the quality of their hatreds. The consistency of their dislikes certainly seems different from aversions generated in more modern times. Anglomania in France before the Revolution was an interesting and natural phenomenon. Neither is it surprising to find in 1784 a play given on the stage of the Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique⁴⁸ in Paris, which enhances this growth of friendship and reveals the Englishman

⁴⁷ *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 1.

⁴⁸ MADAME DE F. . . *Le Rival par Amitié*, Baudrais, Vol. 73.

glowing with admiration for beautiful France. Says Vindsor (sc. 2):

Oh! le charmant pays! partout de la gaïeté!
 Chez le François, quoi qu'on en dise,
 On voit régner cette aimable franchise,
 Et même cette liberté
 Que nous cherchons en vain aux bords de la Tamise.

It is more than an ordinary sentiment that wrings this expression of admiration from Vindsor. He is, at other times, just an Englishman, with his normal modicum of enthusiasm. He had characteristically come to the conclusion that since his country and the one he is visiting have united in an everlasting peace, he must not praise his French brothers (sc. 3). During war-time he would not hesitate to laud an heroic enemy, but now he pauses, so close is the union drawn.

We have followed, to a brief extent, as far as our dramas have revealed them to us, the vicissitudes of the relationship between the English and the French. We have traced them from vacuous social imitations, through veritable dislikes of various kinds, till we finally anchor in a surer haven of appreciation. Let us now turn to the complementary study.

V — THE ATTITUDE OF THE FRENCH TOWARD THE ENGLISH

In 1726, the year of its publication, *Gulliver's Travels* was translated into French, and made its author's name famous on the continent. MARIVAUX, one of the cleverest dramatists of the century, staged the idea of the Lilliputians as early as 1728 in a play which he called *L'Isle de la Raison ou les Petits*

Hommes. The inhabitants of his imaginary island are of normal proportions in every way, because they are entirely guided by reason. Eight Europeans are shipwrecked, and the moment they set foot on the island they dwindle in size, in proportion to their lack of reason. Blectrue, a trusty counselor of the island, soon leads them back to their normal size by his lessons, and he incidentally criticizes for them their European systems of thought. Here is what is said of Englishmen:⁴⁹

Dans de certains pays sont-ils savants? leur sciences les charge; ils ne s'y font jamais, ils en sont tout entrepris. Sont-ils sages? C'est avec une austérité qui rebute de leur sagesse. Sont-ils fous? ce qu'on appelle étourdis et badins? leur badinage n'est pas de commerce; il y a quelque chose de rude, de violent, d'étranger à la véritable joie; leur raison est sans complaisance, il lui manque cette douceur que nous avons, et qui invite ceux qui ne sont pas raisonnables à le devenir: chez eux, tout est sérieux, tout y est grave, tout y est pris à la lettre: on dirait qu'il n'y a pas assez longtemps qu'ils sont ensemble; les autres hommes ne sont pas encore leurs frères, ils les regardent comme d'autres créatures. Voient-ils d'autres mœurs que les leurs? cela les fâche. Et nous, tout cela nous amuse, . . .

In a short tirade, remarkable for its incisive thought, we have from the mind of a great French writer, a critical résumé of the ways of Englishmen. He scores their knowledge, ridicules their wisdom, commiserates their joys, despises their reason, exposes their lack of congeniality, taunts them with their insularity, and finally flings his glove in their faces as he dubs them snobs.

⁴⁹ Scene 1. The word English is not mentioned, but the inference is clear.

This distinctly unsympathetic attitude toward the inhabitants of the British Isles is not confined to MARIVAUX. Even a hasty glance at dramas of the early part of the century reveals a similar unpromising hostility which we may justly ascribe to ignorance. VOLTAIRE, the first great influence in opening the eyes of the French to a truer view of the English, published his famous letters in 1734. In this highly explosive book the author's compatriots suddenly saw revealed a country where different religious sects lived in perfect peace together, where a people's control over the government was secure, where the nobility of labor and commerce was recognized even among the higher ranks, where taxation was based on the consent of the taxed, in short where thought and philosophy had progressed radically in the right direction. This revelation laid the foundation after 1734 of a lasting admiration for the English. However the untoward events of the century may have disturbed the trend of this approving attitude, we come back to it constantly. Traveling promoted a truer mutual knowledge, and in such an acquaintanceship each nation inevitably had a great deal to gain.

That this realization of the advantages to be reaped by unselfish international relationships could actually be voiced in a play given in 1763, a year of bitter reflection for France, seems something to marvel at. FAVART, a man whose experiences single him out among men, not only shows that he has this realization but he actually expresses his appreciation of the true interdependence of nations:⁵⁰

⁵⁰ *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 8.

La chaîne des besoins rapproche tous les hommes,
Le lien du plaisir les unit encor plus.

With this guiding thought he studies an aboriginal Englishman, unsullied by any foreign influences. He places him in France and proceeds to show how his new environment affects him. We find him at first extremely unhappy, a feeling that is, however, not new to him. Melancholia is a popular attribute of his compatriots, for we meet it often in our dramas. It is not difficult to understand this aura of discontent or see how it arose through the observation of actual English life. The Englishman's natural reserve, his continued activity and public interest, and especially his grave dignity, all these could easily combine to give the Frenchman in his lighter atmosphere an erroneous impression. To him joy, to be joy, has to be spontaneous. Therefore he states his antidote for Anglo-gloom in the following terms:⁵⁰

Pour être heureux, soyez ce que nous sommes.

But Milord Englishman cannot see things this way:⁵⁰

Suis-je fait pour être plaisant?
Connoissez mieux l'Anglois, Madame; son génie
Le porte à de plus grands objets.
Politique profond, occupé de projets,
Il prétend à l'honneur d'éclairer sa Patrie.
Le moindre citoyen, attentif à ses droits,
Voit les papiers publics & régit l'Angleterre,
Du Parlement compte les voix,
Prononce librement sur la paix ou la guerre,
Pèse les intérêts du Roi,
Et du fond d'un café leur mesure la terre.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

We have to make out the fact that an Englishman is too vitally concerned with the affairs of life, business, government, to have left time or will for less intense occupations. His seriousness becomes obtrusive after a while; it looms up as a national trade mark.

We see from this how easy it would be to mark out Lord Monrose ⁵¹ as an Englishman, even if we did not know his name. He is stolid, and so deeply immersed in brooding over his own misfortunes that he becomes quite hardened to pity and sympathy. What marks him out as non-French is the fact that he does not seem at all interested when he hears that there is a pretty girl stopping at the inn where he is; and what distinguishes him to the French mind as an Englishman is that he is no more moved than a stone when he hears she has fainted. VOLTAIRE names him a Scotch peer and VOLTAIRE's impressions are wonderfully keen.

It follows that, for a Frenchman to disguise himself successfully as an Englishman, one of the chief requisites would be this grave abstracted look. Damis, ⁵² whose pretensions to Sophie's hand lead him to want to soften the heart of her guardian, Eraste, who is an extraordinary Anglomaniac, disguises himself as a member of the admired nation, and assumes the name of Blacmore. Eraste examines him critically for a while and then remarks (sc. 2):

. . . Par exemple, à vous voir,
Vous êtes un penseur . . .

⁵¹ VOLTAIRE, *L'Ecossaise* (1760).

⁵² SAURIN, *L'Anglomanie* (1772).

. . . Je parie

Que sur vous le beau Sexe a fort peu de pouvoir,
Que l'amour, à vos yeux, n'est rien qu'une folie.

Imagine a nation without love, or even without ordinary human feelings, for Blacmore goes even further and asserts seriously (sc. 2):

Jamais je n'admire . . .
Jamais je ne ris . . .

And

On rit de tout chez les Français:
Sachez, Monsieur, qu'en Angleterre,
On se pend quelquefois, mais qu'on ne rit jamais.

By these various traits Eraste easily identifies Blacmore as a genuine Englishman and at once consigns to him his ward.

Not only does the exaggerated use of the faculty of reason come in for its just share of ridicule, but we find also that Frenchmen are not so very gullible regarding English liberty. They are prone to question its nature. A French marquis would naturally distrust the kind of political freedom that forbade duelling. M. de Prétendière remarks sarcastically:⁵³ "Les Anglois ne tirent point l'épée à Londres, la liberté le leur défend." To him therefore a nation that has such ignoble tendencies is vulgar. "Ces Anglois sont plaisans avec leur liberté. Ils sont peuple, voilà tout. Cela n'a nul ton, nul goût." We are not surprised at this utterance of contempt, for how could a French nobleman, fashioned by the court into a mirror of elegance,

⁵³ CARMONTELLE, *Le Sac d'Avoine*, *Théâtre de Campagne*, Scene 7.

see much in a system that prohibited private combats and turned out gawky meditators?

Socially, this derision of English manners must have been usual in the early part of the eighteenth century. We have already met with a Frenchman's version of a typical English social chat.⁵⁴ Boissy's Marquis de Polinville⁵⁵ denies that conversation even exists in England. "Leur conversation! Ils n'en ont point du tout. Ils sont une heure sans parler, et n'ont autre chose à vous dire que Howd'eyd'o, comment vous portez-vous? Cela fait un entretien bien amusant." His relative, the baron, parries the stroke: "Les Anglois ne sont pas brillans, mais ils sont profonds." But the marquis continues his line of thought, which leads him to a total eradication of the existing system:⁵⁵

Au lieu de passer les trois quarts de leur vie dans un Café à politiquer, et à lire des chiffons de Gazettes, ils feroient mieux de voir bonne compagnie chez eux, d'apprendre à mieux recevoir les honnêtes gens qui leur rendent visite, et à sentir un peu mieux ce que vaut un joli homme.

This sounds a bit like the utterance of a private grievance. But the marquis has a real class criticism to express, and when he remarks impatiently; "Je veux dire qu'ils n'ont pas l'air qu'il faut avoir, cet air libre, ouvert, empressé, prévenant, gracieux, l'air par excellence," he is summing up the broad dissatisfaction with English society that men of his type would naturally conceive.

We have seen how our dainty marquis attributes

⁵⁴ This chapter, page 146.

⁵⁵ *Le François à Londres* (1727), Scene 1.

this lack of social atmosphere among Englishmen to their absorption in political wrangles. They seem to carry their concerns with them even into their maudlin convivial gatherings. Lord Houzey, tremendously impressed with the vast superiority of Frenchmen, also realizes this ugly fact, and he begins to deplore the usual absence of ladies from these gatherings (sc. 6):

Nous autres Anglois, nous n'entendons pas nos intérêts quand nous vous bannissons de nos parties. Nous ne buvons que pour boire et nous portons la tristesse jusqu'au sein de la joie. Il n'est que les François pour faire agréablement la débauche.

This definitely cedes the palm, as far as Houzey is concerned, to the French. He claims nothing creditable for his own nation. Not so his shrewd father, who is in such harmonious accord with the French Baron de Polinville. Milord Craff asserts quite contentedly, even proudly, that Englishmen do not possess *esprit*, if that quality indicates light wit and the saying of pretty things. He is perfectly satisfied with *le bon sens*, which, to our critical marquis, is the most frightful thing in England, and makes everything so dull.

It is interesting as well as amusing to note that however much transplantation from France to England, or *vice versa*, might affect disdainful grandees of either land, the contrast between the two countries does not appear so glaringly strong in the eyes of lower man. Dumont, a French valet in the service of the young nobleman, Sidney, is pleased with conditions about him in London, so normal and unchanged

do they appear in his eyes. He says to his master: ⁵⁶

Depuis votre retour du voyage de France,
Où mon goût près de vous me mit par préférence,
Je n'avais pas encore regretté mon pays;
Je me trouvais à Londres aussi bien qu'à Paris;
J'étais dans le grand monde employé près des Belles,
Je portais vos billets, j'étais bien reçu d'elles;

No wonder he felt quite at home amidst this reproduction of the social atmosphere of his own land. In fact, in social London a Frenchman with a tolerant spirit might get along comfortably without too overwhelming a sense of difference.

Yet the few references we find to the capital city of the English do not reflect extreme pleasure or satisfaction. MONTESQUIEU says: ⁵⁷ "Paris is a beautiful city with some ugly things, and London an ugly city with some beautiful things." It is hard to imagine a Frenchman with the white vistas of Paris in his mind conceiving an affection for dark, narrow London. MONTESQUIEU complains ⁵⁷ of its streets, badly paved, the roads full of holes and ruts, of its carriages so frightfully high, of the grim ugly houses overhanging the streets and shutting out air and light, of its architecture, which he thinks pitiful. The parks alone pleased him.

In accord with this impression is BOISSY's discontented marquis, who says ruefully: ⁵⁸

. . . je me serois bien passé de voir une ville aussi triste et aussi mal élevée que Londres.

⁵⁶ GRESSET, *Sidnei* (1745), Act 1, Scene 6.

⁵⁷ *Lettres Fam., Œuvres Complètes*, édit. Laboulaye, Vol. 7, page 229.

⁵⁸ *Le François à Londres* (1727), Scene 1.

Nor does the famous English murk escape notice, for how could it? La Fleur, a French valet, is very much concerned about his master's sudden illness. He easily fastens upon the cause:⁵⁹

C'est l'effet du brouillard qui règne en Angleterre;
J'en ai senti l'atteinte, en arrivant ici:
Une de ces vapeurs, ce matin, m'a saisi.

Yet, as we have already seen,⁶⁰ MONTESQUIEU forgets the poor impression the city has made on him in his admiration for the people and the general intelligence he meets on all sides. This respect for the power of the English mind is generally shared with him by our dramatists. SAURIN's Anglomaniac says:⁶¹

Les précepteurs du monde à Londres ont pris naissance;
C'est d'eux qu'il faut prendre leçon.
Aussi je meurs d'impatience
D'y voyager. De par Newton,
Je le verrai, ce pays où l'on pense.

GRESSET's Englishman, Sidnei, says to the same effect:⁶²

L'homme qui pense est seul un ami véritable.

This atmosphere of thought with which the Englishman is invested naturally serves partly to explain his melancholy appearance. Some Frenchmen, as we have seen, were led to the belief that his sadness was

⁵⁹ BOISSY, *L'Epoux par Supercherie* (1744), Act 1, Scene 1.

⁶⁰ This chapter, page 135.

⁶¹ *Beverlei* (1768), Scene 4.

⁶² *Sidnei* (1745), Act 1, Scene 6.

real. FAVART was not so easily deceived. His Marquise Floricourt says cheerfully: ⁶³

Que les Anglois soient tristes, misanthropes,
Toujours avec nous contrastés,
Cela ne me fait rien; leurs sombres enveloppes
N'offusquent point, d'ailleurs, leurs bonnes qualités.
Ils sont francs, généreux, braves; je les estime.

The qualities of character — frankness, generosity, courage — indicated by these three adjectives might well be the results of thought, particularly frankness. The English are famed for their straightforward outspoken manner. Again and again we find them pictured as bluntly expressing their thoughts. Lord Brumton, for instance, after making some slighting remarks on certain habits of the French, habits of feigning and masking and false politeness, concludes: ⁶⁴

Un Anglois n'a point l'art de cacher son humeur;
Il porte sur le front l'empreinte de son cœur.
Nous osons nous montrer partout tels que nous sommes,
Et c'est chez nous qu'on peut juger des hommes.

This attitude, full of sincerity and truth, could not fail to impress Frenchmen favorably. A feeling of confidence would permeate their relationship with their neighbors, a confidence reflected in all possible ways. Friendship would be natural, so would intermarriages. Of all this we find traces. One clever dramatist could not refrain, in his respect for their sincerity, from picturing an Englishman who has made a promise and who is exquisitely tortured in

⁶³ *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 8.

⁶⁴ FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 12.

the keeping of it. Nelson,⁶⁵ the young protagonist of this play, refuses to admit that since he passionately loves Corali, a beautiful Indian entrusted to his care, he might do well to marry her. He feels that he is morally bound to keep Corali for his friend Blandfort, who has confided her to him. The situation becomes unbearable for Nelson, living there in the same house with the girl he loves, yet realizing constantly that his promise has put her beyond his reach. He finally determines to run away. Prevented by Corali, who loves him devotedly, he threatens to kill himself unless she agrees to a mere passive friendship between them (sc. 10):

Corali, tu connois quelle est ma probité.
Tout citoyen se doit à la société;
Il est comptable à sa patrie.

Even in this tense moment of his life, the incorrigible Englishman moralizes over his situation and draws generalizations on conduct. He sees in his own way of acting a measure of responsibility to society at large, and with that larger social consciousness his individual expressions or inhibitions become replete with a deeper meaning for the welfare of the race.

With this viewpoint, so vital in happy mutual intercourse, largely attributed to Englishmen, it is not surprising to find among the fine qualities they develop, divine generosity. There are many instances of the spirit of noble giving. We might mention that of the Chevalier Anglois,⁶⁶ who gives

⁶⁵ FAVART, *L'Amitié à l'Epreuve* (1770).

⁶⁶ LESAGE, *Les Trois Commères* (1723), Act 3, Scene 13.

so much more than he has promised that he truly earns the grateful praise of Columbine:

Par cette générosité, monsieur, vous justifiez bien la bonne opinion que nous avons à Paris de la nation Angloise.

It remains for FAVART, as, one might expect, to attribute to the admired nation the very flower of generosity, self-effacement:

Tel est l'Anglois, il cache le bienfait.⁶⁷

This is high praise indeed, although it happens that the particular good deed referred to in this play was done anonymously by a Frenchman. Nevertheless, the praise stands, a glowing tribute to a sister nation.

There are still other qualities or facts concerning English life and organization for which the French have a strong appreciation, especially when they feel a corresponding lack in their own ways. The rigid and harsh system of justice in England, though early ridiculed, met with truer recognition as the years of the century passed on and the French burden of injustice became more intolerable. Thus before 1710 LESAGE in his *Une Journée des Parques* draws for us the doleful picture of Clotho, one of the three Sister Fates, bringing out from her rich store twenty threads belonging to English prisoners, thieves condemned to death. As she cuts these threads, she murmurs: "L'étonnante nation." Contrast this sarcastic sally on the rigorousness of English punishment with the more significant remark made some sixty years later by Duling (1776), one

⁶⁷ *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 18.

of FALBAIRE's characters, when the wicked Lord Belton is cruelly taking advantage of him:⁶⁸

. . . dans Londres déjà l'on a vu plus d'un Lord monter sur l'échafaud, pour payer par sa mort le sang le plus abject.

This is a threat made by an underling, a mere tutor in a lord's household, to his very master. What a profound sensation its utterance on the stage must have made, what a notion of the efficacy of English justice it must have encouraged! These are the little things of international influence that burrow into minds and upon which are reared new ideals and loftier purposes.

This international give and take has so many great and small manifestations that it would be impossible to include them all, unless a work were to assume encyclopedic proportions. As MADAME DE GENLIS puts it, speaking to her English friend:⁶⁹

Par exemple, vous y⁷⁰ verrez que nous nous piquons de vous imiter sur tous les points, à l'exception d'un seul, c'est la bienfaisance. Nous exagérons toutes vos modes, nous prenons vos usages, vos manières; . . .

We have followed in our dramatic wanderings some of the larger influences playing between two great nations. We might stop with these, not pretending to include details. We have, however, the welcome pretext of an Anglomaniac, and if we may be permitted to add his particular likings to what has been said, we shall get a few specific notions of English

⁶⁸ *L'Ecole des Mœurs* (1776), Act 1, Scene 7.

⁶⁹ *L'Aveugle de Spa, Théâtre d'Education*, Scene 2.

⁷⁰ In Paris.

appearance and manners. Eraste⁷¹ is the name of this violent lover of things *à l'angloise*. He has created about him the proper atmosphere in which to indulge his hobby (sc. 1):

Mais dans cette campagne où d'ordinaire il vit,
On s'habille, on se coëffe et l'on toste à l'Angloise.

A son œil prévenu, sans un petit chapeau,
Il n'est point de femme qui plaise.

Eraste says (sc. 2):

Suivant l'usage Anglois, j'ai voulu, ce matin,
Qu'on fit, d'un grand Parterre, un petit Boulingrin;
J'y veux avoir de tout, des vallons, des collines,
Des prés, une plaine, des bois,
Une Mosquée, un pont Chinois,
Une rivière, des ruines, . . .

This is indeed the typical conglomerate of English gardens, so popular in the eighteenth century. At four o'clock an English tea is served, of course (sc. 3). In all this imitative existence Eraste gathers happiness, for he believes he is unique. He determines not to marry, thus following Newton's example, and avoiding classification as an ordinary man. He insists on being as singular as he pleases, as singular as he thinks Englishmen are (sc. 2):

A Londres chacun prend la forme qui lui plaît,
On n'y surprend personne, en étant ce qu'on est.

A more violent conversion than Eraste's is to be found in a play called *Le Rival par Amitié*.⁷² Fi-

⁷¹ SAURIN, *L'Anglomanie* (1772).

⁷² MADAME DE F. . . . (1784), Baudrais, Vol. 73.

nette, a servant, saucily describes the effect upon her master of a visit to England (sc. 1):

Eh bien! il nous revoit avec indifférence,
Monsieur ne parle plus que difficilement;
Il n'oseroit plus rire, il sourit gravement.
On ne sait ce qu'il dit, ce qu'il fait, ce qu'il pense,
Il joue enfin l'Anglois, et très maussadement.

Young Dorval actually goes into tirades of abuse against his own country, France, and his madness even leads him to renounce Lucille, his lady-love, because she is not English. Says he in his impassioned way to Vindsor, his friend (sc. 3):

. . . et chez vous, les talens, la sagesse
Ne sont jamais mis en oubli.
Dans votre isle jamais leur doux éclat ne blesse.
Là, l'Hymen est un Dieu, dont les liens sacrés
Par les époux sont toujours révéérés;
L'amour un sentiment plein de délicatesse.
Là, l'amitié n'est point un commerce honteux
D'inutiles égards et de dehors frivoles,
De protestations et de vaines paroles.
Là, prenant un essor rapide et glorieux,
Le génie, élané dans sa noble carrière,
Sans entraves, sans frein, peut franchir la barrière;
Là, le Sage peut réfléchir,
Et, sans danger de le paroître,
Vivre en Philosophe, et jouir
De la dignité de son être;
Et, pour trancher des discours superflus,
Là, l'homme est homme enfin . . .

This adulatory eulogy is a complete résumé of the late eighteenth-century feeling toward the English. It is a cry vibrant with heart-felt admiration and, to a listening ear, it contains a haunting note, a call

to arms, vague, unformulated, but present. This was five years before the storm of Revolution actually swept France.

To measure these waves, coming and going, of influence and inspiration between countries is an impossible task, life is so multifarious. They can be at least indicated, suggested, and a word will often do the work of many descriptions. That is why homage was rendered at the beginning of this chapter to BOISSY. After picturing vividly the doings of a Frenchman in London⁷³ and revealing the ridiculous narrowness of extreme and partisan views regarding one's own nation, he indicates by a significant word, used by a sane Englishman and a sound Frenchman, the great borrowed characteristic that each nation partly owes to the other.

Says the Baron de Polinville to Milord Craff (sc. 17):

Vous venez, Monsieur, de me convaincre, que rien n'est au dessus d'un *Anglois poli*.

Says Milord Craff to the Baron de Polinville:

Et vous m'avez fait connoître, Monsieur, que rien n'approche d'un *François raisonnable*.

If we read the significance behind these words, we get a glimpse, a sort of bird's-eye view, of the nature of the interchange between England and France in the eighteenth century.

⁷³ *Le François à Londres* (1727).

VI — ENGLISHMEN OF MIDDLE RANK AND LOWER

We meet among these stage characters our dramatists have created many interesting types, some of them more interesting than lords, especially where our writers could allow themselves greater freedom and invest them with a little reality. We shall in this section interview a few of the more important individuals that we meet. We may in this way obtain a notion of what our French audiences carried away in their minds as their impressions of ordinary Englishmen, men placed in stations of life similar to their own. Our dramatists afford us an opportunity of meeting all sorts and conditions of men,—captains, soldiers, travelers, merchants, shop-keepers, workmen, scientists, doctors, priests, editors, tutors, inn-keepers, gaolers, jockeys, villains, good or bad, and finally servants. The pictures we are going to draw of some of them, while perhaps unrelated and diverse, will give us well-defined individual impressions, which, when added together, will obviously reveal certain general tendencies in the minds of our dramatists. We shall then be able to answer questions concerning these impressions. Are these characters generally seen to be good or bad, faithful or untrustworthy, honest or dishonest, intelligent or stupid? Let us endeavor to build up our answers.

First of all we renew acquaintance with Tomson,⁷⁴ an English officer. We see in him a strong Saxon fighter, determined never to yield. He naturally tends to become rather fierce. Elvire, a girl whom

⁷⁴ FAVART, *Le Mariage par escalade* (1756).

he is trying to force into marriage with him, says of him and his nation (sc. 1):

Oui, son premier but est l'honneur,
 Et votre farouche valeur
 En vous prouve moins un grand cœur
 Que la fureur de tout détruire.

English soldiers are emphasized as savages, full of lust for destruction. They seem a class of grim Northern warriors, crushing everything before them in their way to victory. Naturally they lack the finer sensibilities — a failing noticeable even in their officers. Tomson, unlike any conceivable French soldier of his rank, despises love as a power to sway, and rather brutally states that he is going to marry Elvire because he wants to possess her. In his opinion French officers, because of their propensities for love-making, are weaklings (sc. 1):

Tous les François sont les héros des Dames,

 Ils ont toujours pensé comme des femmes.

Let us offset the impression made by the fearless and merciless Tomson with Sudmer, a naval officer, whose portrait is drawn by the same author, FAVART. It is refreshing to meet Sudmer, with his intelligent point of view regarding the relations of nations. He has traveled a great deal and this has opened his eyes to the fact that men are perhaps brothers, no matter where they happen to live, and that there is good in them all.

Je trouve partout ma patrie ⁷⁵
 Où je trouve d'honnêtes gens;
 En Cochinchine, en Barbarie,
 Chez les Sauvages même . . .

He possesses to a rare degree the "international mind," for how could one plead more eloquently than he does for universal peace?

Quoi! parce qu'on habite un autre coin de terre,⁷⁵
 Il faut se déchirer & se faire la guerre!
 Tendons tous au bien général.

Je ne connois sur la machine ronde
 Rien que deux peuples différens;
 Savoir, les hommes bons & les hommes méchans.

It is natural then for Sudmer to close the play by uttering the words of peace, words full of meaning in that very year of 1763, when the Peace of Paris ended the bitter experience of the Seven Years' War (sc. 21).

Sachez que les bienfaits sont de tous les pays.
 Je trouve tous les jours, par leur correspondance,
 Paris à Londre & l'Angleterre en France.

This warm statement shows a pretty close kinship, undisturbed by the existence of strife. What a wonderful nation the French were, when even in those days of loss and trouble, they could still gaze frankly at their enemy of the day before and call him friend! How brave the audiences were that heard Sudmer speak these words of peace, who, rising above enmity, cheered the prospect of friendship with a nation to whom they felt akin!

⁷⁵ *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 14.

The Englishman with the "international mind" seems to be a rather familiar figure. We meet his kind not only among milords and naval officers; even the honest Jacques Splin,⁷⁶ or as we might translate it, Jack Spleen, has definite ideas on the subject of international kinship. As an Englishman, he feels first of all his responsibility toward his own country. His duty done, he sees no reason for an unfriendly attitude toward any other land. We take it that Jacques Splin is a successful merchant who is traveling for his health. But in no place does he find favorable conditions (sc. 6):

J'ai parcouru toute l'Europe, je me suis ennuyé. J'ai été dans le Russie, j'ai trouvé trop froid: j'ai été dans l'Italie, j'ai trouvé trop chaud: j'ai été dans le Hollande, j'ai trouvé trop triste: je suis dans le France, je trouve trop gai . . .

Poor Jacques, at the end of his wits, has nothing left to do but to commit suicide. There is one thing however that restrains him. He fears the possible disgrace that may revert to his country (sc. 6):

Je ne veux pas qu'en France on puisse croire qu'un Anglois il soit un lâche ou un malhonnête homme; ma patrie seroit fâchée.

Still he has persuaded himself to carry out his plan. He meets most opportunely Jaquot, a waiter in a hotel, who is about to forego this life⁷⁷ because he has no power financially to persuade the cruel M. Loyer, the hotel proprietor, to give him his daughter.

⁷⁶ PATRAT, *L'Anglois* (1781). *Jacques* is French for *James*. Perhaps *Jim Spleen* would be a better rendering.

⁷⁷ See pages 143, 144.

As might be expected, Jacques Splin gives Jaquot all his money, and experiences in the giving a joy the like of which he had never felt before. He determines to live with all the world of men his brothers, except those, of course,—and here the patriot becomes visible,—who are enemies to England (sc. 9):

Celui qui attaque la gloire ou la liberté de mon pays, de quelque nation qu'il soit, il est mon ennemi; mais celui qui a besoin de mes secours, il est toujours mon compatriote.

We rather like Jacques Splin for his hearty ways, his lack of ceremony, and his kindness. A strange figure he must have seemed to our French audiences, with his unbalanced pessimism. He is called in the play "le fou raisonnable," and as he stalked about, hardly uttering more than a sentence in answer to any question, insisting on responses devoid of meaningless flatteries or polite terms of address, he must have produced a profound impression. When M. Loyer calls him Milord, he rebuffs him and introduces himself as "Jacques Splin, honnête homme." As Jack Spleen, plain man, we leave him, with a realization that in his case English manners must have appeared crude, English talk laconic, and English folly reasonable.

There was one bluff old merchant, however, who fairly swept French audiences off their feet in spite of his odd ways. This was Freeport, "gros négociant de Londres"; and if we look among the dramatic authors of the century, we find but one that had genius enough to create him, VOLTAIRE of course. In his *L'Ecossaise* (1760) we see Freeport, a beautiful soul with a hard envelope, in relation with other Eng-

lish people. With the quiet dignity that comes from the assurance and goodness in his makeup, he meets Frelon,⁷⁸ an editor possessed of a venomous tongue, and always defeats him in the ensuing battle of words. When he learns of the unfortunate Lindane, a Scotch lass who has been separated from her father, Lord Monrose, in their hasty flight from their home, and who has been living in abject poverty trying to make both ends meet, Freeport forces his way into her room without more ado. There he relates to her his successful business ventures in Jamaica and, considering that a sufficient explanation, he throws a bag of gold on her table. This was capital fun for French spectators, but Freeport provides more. Though Lindane naturally refuses to accept his money, he disregards her refusal, buries himself in his newspaper, and insists that he does not understand what she says. He has his way. He is a good spirit whom one is forced to like and obey. He is always kind and helpful in his straight bluff way, which is nevertheless full of a kind of fatherly delicacy. Eventually he conceives a deep affection for Lindane and, in his familiar way, chides her because her pride prevents him from seeing her oftener. Often he chides himself for being such a fool about people, especially about Lindane. He realizes with a sort of comical start that she really was not intended for him, and that he must stop falling in love any further. He is not a bit silly about it, rather all the time dominated by good sense.

⁷⁸ Really FRÉRON, editor of *L'Année Littéraire*, VOLTAIRE's arch-enemy.

Freeport, the English merchant, is a superb creation of VOLTAIRE'S. He seems perfectly genuine, as if the author were picturing an actual being whom he had met and known well. There can be no doubt that in England VOLTAIRE had really come across this type of benevolent merchant. At any rate, the French felt that Freeport was thoroughly English and they applauded him. They were attracted by his bizarre and brusque, yet natural and gentle way of doing what he thought was good and right. The English themselves were highly flattered by the figure of Freeport, and COLMAN, one of the contemporary dramatists, immediately, wrote, in imitation of VOLTAIRE, a comedy entitled *The English Merchant* (1767), the principal character of which is Freeport.

Earlier in the century we meet another English merchant, Jacques Rosbif,⁷⁹ grosser, less amiable than Freeport, yet a man one respects for his peculiar traits. He is the essence of commercial shrewdness, entirely devoid of all manners and social politeness. Naturally, an elegant French marquis would say of him (sc. 5):

C'est bien l'Anglois le plus disgracieux, le plus taciturne, le plus bizarre, le plus impoli que je connoisse.

Rosbif is not over-fond of society and he does away entirely with pomp and ceremony. Above all he hates useless verbiage, and therefore he dispenses with all polite introductory phrases and comes to the point. His philosophy of social organization is as simple as it is sound. He says (sc. 8):

⁷⁹ BOISSY, *Le François à Londres* (1727).

Je me moque, moi, d'une noblesse imaginaire, les vrais Gentilshommes ce sont les honnêtes gens, il n'y a que le vice de roturier.

When we finally become somewhat familiar with his straightforward ways, we are naturally as anxious as the French public of the time must have been to watch his first meeting with the dainty, prancing Marquis de Polinville. It finally happens and it does not disappoint us. Rosbif looks at the chattering Frenchman for a long time. He then says frankly that he regards him as a curiosity which he wants to examine, and tells him to go right ahead. The marquis prattles on in the midst of the other's stony silence and curious, inquiring gaze. After a while the polite gallant is a little discomfited at receiving no reply. Still he keeps on with his inexhaustible verbiage till the merchant turns on him and reduces him *ad absurdum* (sc. 10):

Vous êtes un fort joli bouffon et vous valez bien trois schelins.

Rosbif has apparently no use for the man who has nothing to do in life except to be pleasing and to fascinate women. The highest compliment therefore that he could possibly pay to a Frenchman is that he deserves to be an Englishman. This tribute he offers to the sensible and agreeable Baron de Polinville and his words are sincere and simple.

In spite of the strange ways of these merchants, their lives after all appear quite prosaic, devoid of adventure or color. They were interesting to French audiences because they were new and vigorous manifestations of the life of a shrewd people. Yet we

must not leave this type of Englishman without making the acquaintance of Vilson,⁸⁰ a manufacturer of woolens. He will show us that romantic circumstance can call forth the heroic element even in an English merchant. It is Vilson's pride that he owes no man anything. He conducts his business on sound lines, never overcharges and never is unfair. He is naturally beloved by his workmen. When he woos Fanny he refuses to accept any dowry. Even when he learns that she is an illegitimate child, his love for her continues pure and strong. Then, after their marriage, troubles come. Vilson's banker is declared insolvent and our manufacturer loses his fortune. To pay his outstanding accounts, Vilson deprives himself of the little he has left. Facing the world thus in utter poverty, he realizes that he cannot give Fanny the home she ought to have. He knows that she was once wooed by a Lord Orfey, who is still unmarried. He sees his duty clearly. By note he informs the rich lord of his death and then plans to jump into the Thames. Let us add that, as might be expected, he is saved from this rash and wrong act by a wealthy and despondent gentleman who is about to commit a similar deed. It certainly does seem impossible for an Englishman to commit suicide by jumping from a bridge. At any rate, in Vilson's life such a close call might be termed a real adventure.

There is also Thomas Spencer,⁸¹ a woodcarver, and his father-in-law, Thomas Frick, both cheerful, simple souls humbly plying their trade. Into their quiet

⁸⁰ FALBAIRE, *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771).

⁸¹ LONGUEIL, *L'Orphelin Anglois* (1769).

lives comes a sudden surprise, for it is discovered that the young Spencer, whose parentage was before unknown, is really the heir to vast baronial estates. Though he disdains this unexpected wealth, he heeds the command of his king and comes into possession of his own; not before making sure, however, that his wife and her father, whom class laws would exclude from the court, can enjoy his new distinctions with him. The play in which he so nobly figures is of especial interest to us because all its characters save one are English and are all virtuous and good save this one. He is Franck, a Gascon, secretary to Lady Lallin (who does not appear on the scene) and a rascally agent in her devilish schemes. In her attempt to prevent Spencer from inheriting his rightful name, Franck aids her ably. This secretary is not a prominent personality in the comedy, but he does represent clearly, if we would take the testimony of English plays wherein he appears, a certain type of French servant that was actually in some demand in England, — the servant who was an invaluable adviser in social relations and intrigues. Franck is not without his regrets at having left France, for he says, when asked whether he is coming to like England (1, 4):

Pas trop. Mon père qui étoit né à Londres regretoit à Bordeaux la bière d'Angleterre; moi qui suis né à Bordeaux, je regrette les bons vins de France.

Frick and Spencer are however good-natured men of business, with love for their work and for their fellowmen. Their quiet kindly ways invest the play with a sweetness and faith that makes their lowly

station, honestly maintained by their own exertions, seem preferable to the affluence that bursts in on them by inheritance.

In some of our plays we naturally meet characters who are commercially associated with these English men of business. It is impossible to take them up here in any detail. Suffice it to say that, as a class, lower tradespeople and employees appear honest, trustworthy, and faithful. When Vilson, for example, is declared bankrupt, his employees, who love him, refuse to take his wife's necklace in payment of their wages, but instead make up a collection of fifteen guineas which they present to their unfortunate master. Such traits are common and were probably to some extent founded on fact.

From these aspects of English commercial life, let us pass to another phase that sometimes interested Frenchmen. We have already met several examples of the cold, reserved *raisonneur*, with his dignified melancholy. Certainly, as we think of him and his kind, we have to agree that English thinkers and scientists were no fools, when even their folly is reasonable. Hence it is a rarity to meet a scientist whose apparent peculiarity is more than an over-pompous dignity. We find such a one, however, in MAYEUR DE ST. PAUL'S *L'Elève de la Nature* (1781), and his caricature owes a good deal of its ridiculous nature to the author's ineptitude. We meet Johnson, a pseudo-scientist, who has an intense desire to see what would happen to a human being if he had no contact at all with any other human being. Hence his silly vow (sc. 1):

. . . j'ai promis à la tendre moitié qui me fait chérir l'existence que si le Ciel nous accorderoit plus de six rejetons de notre heureux hyménée, le septième et les suivans seroient rendus à la nature, pour qu'elle les élevât elle-même dans son sein.

His purpose is also to prove the Rousseau doctrine that men are born good. So he shuts his seventh son up in a wooden cage and keeps him there for twenty years, feeding him through a grating. After that, the cage is carried with its occupant to a deserted island, where the nature-product is to be freed and to be allowed to work out its own salvation. This noble experiment on a human being is so outlandish that it seems almost incredible that the author could reasonably choose even an Englishman as its agent. We can account for it only in part when we state that to dramatize an unreality or an impossible idea, the author would probably feel the necessity of choosing a foreign land for the scene. Only a very poor artist, however, would choose England as a likely place for so crazy a plot.

In Dr. Bristol ⁸² we meet another English scientist of a very different kind. Not that his science is any more dependable than Johnson's, for he is pictured as a shrewd quack. His method of curing is, however, peculiarly adapted to irritable and nervous people. A French marquis who is in love with a most fidgety countess, says of him (sc. 1):

Oui, je l'ai connu pendant mon voyage d'Angleterre; il m'a paru avoir de l'esprit et être honnête homme; pour bon médecin, c'est autre chose. Il emploie des manières de

⁸² CARMONTELLE, *Le Pâton*.

remèdes fort extraordinaires, parce qu'ils sont simples; & cette espèce de charlatannerie qui n'est pas dangereuse, peut guérir l'esprit de la Comtesse, ou ses nerfs, comme on appelle sa maladie.

Scoffers might, if they chose, discover in Dr. Bristol the progenitor of Christian Science. We hasten to add that it is his common sense protruding in all he does and says that makes him such a good antidote for nervous people. He does sound a little grotesque when he complains of a French patient whom he has been treating for the past five years and who has shown some improvement during the last month because he has been following the advice of another physician. This so disheartens the Englishman that he is about to leave France. While Dr. Bristol, like his confrère Johnson, does not throw much credit on the scientific propensities of his nation, he does add to her glory by his common sense and good nature.

A less agreeable picture than that of these English scientists is FALBAIRE's drawing of the "ministre" William.⁸³ We have seen that in all the century of dramatic production Catholic priests do not figure at all. No matter how prevalent were immorality and irreligious life among the people, they could not yet bear to have the contact of the stage sully those holy things which their minds still invested unconsciously with a superstitious respect. Although in other literary forms and in indirect reference in plays, Catholic clerics are showered with invectives and abuse, to place a living priest on the stage and thus vividly desecrate the cloth, that was an impossible sacrilege

⁸³ FALBAIRE, *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771).

The Church would never have tolerated it. For this reason William, an English minister and a sanctimonious hypocrite, takes on added importance, as he is, so far as we can tell, the only ordained clergyman of Christian faith who is an actual stage figure during the eighteenth century. Because of his pretence and deceit, he does not reflect any credit on the English clergy. He is constantly asserting his conviction that alms-giving is the surest way to the Lord's blessing. Thus, when Sudmer, the banker we have seen above, fails, William fastens upon the cause (III, 2):

Je me doutois bien qu'il finiroit mal. J'allai lui demander, il y a trois mois, quelques guinées. C'étoit pour secourir des malheureux. Il me les refusa, & dès-lors je prédis sa ruine. La voilà arrivée. C'est bien fait. Tôt ou tard il faut que les gens durs et malfaisans périssent.

Yet when his intimate friend Vilson loses all his money, William at once rushes to his house to claim payment of a note. Although the note is made out in his own name, the clergyman insists that the money is not his own, but belongs to certain charitable persons whom he represents. He consents to accept in payment jewels far exceeding the amount of the note. In spite of this sickening hypocrisy, which is so obvious, he goes off still making protestations of friendship to Vilson.

Duling, an English tutor drawn by the same author, is much more sincere and honest than William. Yet he seems to us to-day quite stupid because of his obstinate conventionality. Although the passion of his pupil, Lord Jame, for his daughter Henriette,

is obviously pure and frank, Duling takes it for granted that it is but a scheme for his daughter's seduction. This he believes because it is so ingrained in him that there can be no true extra-class marriages. He does not even attempt to test Jame's words. He simply rushes to miladi, the young man's mother, and exclaims:⁸⁴

Voulez-vous qu'il se perde et que j'en sois coupable?
Que, manquant le premier aux principes sacrés,
Qui par moi jusqu'ici lui furent inspirés,
Démentant une vie intègre et toujours pure,
Je trahisse l'honneur, la vertu, la nature?

Although this sounds antiquated to our modern ears, it does picture vividly the English tutor's adherence to class rules and his horror at what seems a violation of custom. The attitude lacks initiative and smacks of servility. Such as it is, it does not seem unnatural to one in service in a noble family. Certainly no one can question Duling's devotion to the household that employs him, his complete self-sacrifice in its interests.

On one occasion our tutor goes bail for Charle, Jame's older brother, who has been arrested for breaking into a house where a wedding has been going on, in order to steal the bride. Duling has really given a note to the injured parties in order to obtain their promise to hush the matter up and prevent scandal. Lord Belton, Charle's father, delays paying the note, and so the poor tutor is tearfully taken away by the police, leaving his daughter, for whose safety he fears, in the care of Ladi Belton.

⁸⁴ FALBAIRE, *L'Ecole des Mœurs* (1776), Act 2, Scene 9.

Jame, the younger brother, tries hard to raise the money for Duling's release. He runs to his friends in London, but they refuse to aid him. Yet help arises for the miserable Duling from a most unexpected quarter, from the gaoler. The latter is touched by the evident innocence of his prisoner and undertakes to pay the note out of money saved for his own daughter's dowry. He is sure that she will be glad to have him do this kind act. This is a most novel and interesting sort of gaoler. As might be expected his kindness is concealed by his rather rough manners. He gruffly refuses any word of thanks and repulses even the young Lord Jame, who throws himself on his knees before him — a most significant picture. And again we have portentous words, words of warning uttered by an English gaoler, words that must have stirred uneasy thought in the minds of some listeners (IV, 14):

Le riche en ces prisons chaque jour fait conduire
 Beaucoup d'infortunés, mais jamais il n'en tire.
 Ses chevaux, ses valets, ses maîtresses, ses chiens,
 Voilà, voilà pourquoi sont réservés ses biens.
 Où diable avez-vous vu qu'aux gens dans l'opulence
 On alloit demander de l'argent? Quelle enfance!
 Non, à quelqu'ami pauvre il faut avoir recours,
 Et c'est là qu'au besoin on trouve du secours.

Our prison-keeper and his practical philosophy of rich and poor assume great importance to us as we see them presented to French audiences. He is an English gaoler, if you will, in his gruff kind ways, but in his words he is more. He is a thought-provoking kind of Englishman when he utters this clear warn-

ing, even though he is but a lowly individual. He belongs to a nation that has won its way to freedom. His words are therefore full of meaning for the rich oppressors and for the impoverished of France.

It is true that on almost every hand among our English characters of lowly station, we meet rough manners and abrupt, direct speech. Hence we must not pass over a very exceptional servant, a jockey, who, in spite of his *brogue*, manages to convey the prettiest flatteries. The name of this "jockey" is Williams,⁸⁵ with an s. He comes in (I, 4) looking for "Une tame," but finds two ladies before him. Says he gallantly:

. . . Je vois; mais sur mon âme
Vous mettez diablement du trouble en mon esprit.
Celle que je viens pour, l'être, à ce qu'on m'a dit,
Avec des yeux bien beaux, mine jolie.
A laquelle de vous m'adresser, je vous prie!

This is a perfect flower of politeness plucked from the very soul of the occasion. Indeed to an English audience such honeyed words might smack more of the Celt than of the Saxon, thus suggesting a distinction which the French listener was at this time unable to discern. Williams continues to acquit himself most creditably. He agrees for the sweet sake of the ladies to wreck his master's vehicle, of which he is postilion. For this service he is given a purse, with the stipulation that he must not let his master receive any injury, but that one wheel must be broken. The obliging Williams, not to be outdone, offers for the consideration of two purses to break

⁸⁵ DESFOURCHERETS, *Le Mariage Secret* (1786).

two wheels in the prearranged accident. In this willingness to serve and obey for special rewards, our English jockey resembles continental servants as they are seen on the stage; he is akin to the army of Arlequins and Frontins.

What stands out above all others as a general quality of English servants is devotion, a quality rather distinct from the care-free attachment of French or Spanish servants whom we have met. Their devotion is apparent in many ways, but particularly in their ready sharing of the tribulations of their masters. Lord Brumton, for example, is followed in exile by the faithful Robinson,⁸⁶ who shrewdly obtains money from French friends for his master's support. And there is Polly,⁸⁷ who actually faces starvation together with her Scotch mistress Lindane. Polly naturally remonstrates with her deserted lady for refusing aid, even when prudence permits her to accept. There would be no shame in taking aid from friends. But Lindane holds out and for once Polly rebels (I, 5):

La grandeur d'âme vous soutient: il semble que vous vous plaisiez à combattre la mauvaise fortune: vous n'en êtes que plus belle; mais moi, je maigris à vue d'œil; depuis un an que vous m'avez prise à votre service en Ecosse, je ne me reconnais plus.

But Polly is loyal, and she remains by her lady's side till the happy ending.

Then there is the lovable David,⁸⁸ who is a sort

⁸⁶ FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763).

⁸⁷ VOLTAIRE, *L'Ecossaise* (1760).

⁸⁸ FALBAIRE, *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771).

of combination clerk and housekeeper to Vilson, the unfortunate manufacturer. David is completely unlike the typical French apprentice, for at no time is there anything but the purest loyalty in his actions in his master's household. He loves Vilson freely and independently, never in a servile way; and when misfortune comes, he works to save his employer and stays with him through thick and thin. So does Betzi, Mrs. Vilson's maid. She insists on remaining and serving without pay.

As illustrative of this great difference between English servants on the stage and those of France, Nelton⁸⁹ stands out dominantly. He is more of a dignified friend than a valet, and in the list of characters he appears as "le Confident du Comte." But he speaks of the Count of Neuilli as his master and we know his relation by his deference. Nelton as a French servant would have been altogether impossible. He really coincides with our notion to-day of a confidential man. As such we find in Nelton a wise helper, remarkably lucid and logical in his utterances. He says, for example, in optimistic vein (1, 3):

Rien ne sauroit ternir l'éclat du vrai mérite;
On le respecte à Londres, on l'admire à Paris,
Et, plus fort que la mode, il brille en tout pays.

How carefully he chooses his words! How easily he appears to suggest a difference in the way merit or genius is regarded in two different countries,—respected in one, admired in the other. We can see how staid and respectable Nelton must be. He has

⁸⁹ BOISSY, *Le Comte de Neuilli* (1736).

a mind of real worth, a mind that understands, and it is therefore not surprising that the philosophically inclined Count of Neuilli reasons and thinks with his servant, and entrusts to him his innermost secrets. Their relation is indeed a beautiful one. Above all let us note that Nelton, in common with David and others of their class, is not in the habit of passing lewd remarks, or of pointing out evil in the men and women about him, or of making love to every servant girl he meets. The lives of these companions are characterized mainly then by a clean and free devotion to their employers,—masters seems hardly the word.

Servility, therefore, is far from being an important quality of the relationship between gentlemen and those subject to them. This in itself is significant when compared with dissimilar conditions in France. But it is noteworthy that we find in one play, given five years before the memorable 1789, a strong tirade delivered by the Franch valet Frontin, who has turned Quaker to please his master but who is half tempted to remain one to please himself; a tirade in which he clearly points out the wonderful chances for success that even a servant may enjoy in England. His speech is made ridiculous by its exaggeration, but in this very fact lay the possibility of ever saying it in public. Frontin declaims:⁹⁰

Je gagne cent paris et je fais ma fortune;
 Je n'en reste pas là. D'une ardeur peu commune
 Je travaille mes fonds; me voilà Commerçant,
 Et je centuple mes finances.

⁹⁰ MADAME DE F. . ., *Le Rival par Amitié* (1784), Scene 5.

Nous jouissons enfin: nos trésors sont immenses!
Mon crédit, mon mérite, et surtout mon argent
Me font entrer au Parlement.
Là, brillant par mon éloquence,
Je nargue l'univers et je berne la France.
Je prouve qu'un Anglois vaut lui seul six Gascons,
Trois Normands, deux Manceaux et quatre Bas-Bretons.
Du peuple je deviens l'idole;
J'achète une Comté. Le Roi, qui me craint fort,
Me gagne, en me donnant le titre de Milord.
Te voilà Myladi. Finette, le beau rôle!
La foule des plaisirs s'empresse autour de nous.

English consistency demands, Frontin admits, that if these fine schemes fail, he will have to kill himself.

We have by now interviewed the most important of the minor English characters our dramatic authors have drawn for us. We have found officers discussing universal peace, travelers maintaining their affection for their native land, merchants lavishing kindness upon those about them or meeting misfortunes bravely and nobly, scientists experimenting in queer directions, tutors devoting themselves body and soul to the interest of those who employ them, servants revealing a fund of faith and affection for their masters that is astounding to us to-day. The only disagreeable character was the English clergyman, and even that seems natural when we consider the notorious abbés of France. If called upon now to render judgment as to whether these characters generally appear good or bad, wise or stupid, honest or dishonest, we shall in the main incline to the favorable decision. As a class, these Englishmen seem to be dominated by good principles of conduct. They

seem also to possess, in addition to sterling qualities of character, good minds and kind hearts. Certainly as the French audience proceeds after the play to the door of the theater, it comments on its way, "A fine race, a good people, those English."

VII — ENGLISH WOMEN AND THEIR LOVERS

In FAVART'S *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763) we learn that when Lord Brumton, one of the characters, was exiled he took with him into France his daughter Clarice. There, although aware of her father's antipathy toward Frenchmen, she fell in love with the good and generous Dormant who worked for their comfort and safety. But Brumton had already decided to grant his daughter in marriage to his friend Sudmer. There results a problem for Clarice; and perhaps we are a little surprised at the rather slight struggle in her heart between obedience to her father and love for her admirer. She chooses obedience, and in words remarkable for the completeness with which they reveal an English girl's environment, training, and thought, she says to Sudmer (sc. 17):

Les volontés de Mylord sont des loix.
 La générosité de votre caractère,
 Vos nobles procédés, font honneur à son choix;
 Et les vertus sur mon cœur ont des droits
 Préférables à l'amour même.
 Lorsque de la raison on écoute la voix,
 On estime, du moins, en attendant qu'on aime.

Here is a girl, then, who, forced by the situation to choose between her lover and her father, does not

passionately cling to her lover and tearfully submit to her father. She deliberately sizes up the pros and cons and, guided by a sense of reason, she decides to take her chances with a good man her parent has selected. Certainly one cannot accuse her of blind subservience to her father, for she says frankly to him (sc. 18):

En Angleterre, un cœur n'est point esclave;
Le pouvoir paternel est chez nous limité;
Mais ne soupçonnez pas que jamais je le brave.

And she adds, implying that she has thought it all out:

Périssette cette liberté
Qui des parens détruit l'autorité.

Clarice thus obeys her father, perhaps partly through a sense of compliance, but mainly we have to agree, because she wants to. That is her way of thinking and doing; and, when we consult the long list of French heroines who are forced to decide between love and duty, we must conclude that Clarice is "different." Perhaps we express it aptly when we say she is English.

One might think that an unfortunate marriage resulting from such a system of conduct would modify it. Let us see. In BOISSY'S *Eliante*⁹¹ we find a young English widow whose husband was a brute. As a reaction from him, she has fallen in love with a graceful and superficial French marquis. But her reason shows her his unfitness and she struggles to forget him (sc. 4):

⁹¹ *Le François à Londres* (1727).

Oh! Je m'en corrigerai, je m'en corrigerai. Je suis femme, et j'ai pu me laisser éblouir par les grâces et par le faux brillant d'un mérite superficiel; mais je suis Anglaise en même tems, par conséquent capable de me servir de toute ma raison.

So she, too, falls back with the utmost calm on the fact that she is English and therefore able to follow the dictates of her mind. And like Clarice, this is the attitude that her mind tells her to assume toward her father (sc. 24):

Non, mon père, décidez vous-même. L'époux que vous me donnerez sera toujours sûr de me plaire.

We find her thus able to control her natural impulses and to decide definitely to submit in matters of the heart to the dictation of her parent. So she refuses the marquis.

We pass over for the present what this implies concerning the sincerity and strength of an English girl's passion, to meet Ellénore,⁹² the daughter of Lord Sussex. She has been brought up in France by a French marquise who had allowed her to believe that she was really her daughter.^{92a} Yet even though she is unaware of her real parentage, her words and conduct reflect her inheritance. Whatever she utters is always replete with good sense and sound logic. The young marquis, supposedly her brother, has to say of her (II, 5):

La raison la conduit dans tout ce qu'elle fait.

⁹² BOISSY, *le Comte de Neuilli* (1736).

^{92a} Cf. *supra*, p. 142.

In spite of their fraternal relationship, these two young people find themselves in love with each other, and consequently burdened by the consciousness of an illicit passion. When the marquise, his mother, finally reveals the fact that they are not really brother and sister, Ellénore does not swoon for joy. Nor does she rush off to her lover, no longer her brother, with the great news. On the contrary, she considers thoughtfully the whole situation and, in a most charming speech, she thanks her foster-mother for her care of her. This crisis past, she calmly faces the next one, which arises from the refusal of the marquise to consent to her marriage with her son. Like a Frenchman, the young nobleman immediately proposes running away. But Ellénore, with the heritage of her nation dominating her, says indignantly (V, 1):

Vous me verriez plutôt affronter le trépas.
Tout mon bonheur dépend de me voir votre épouse;
Mais je suis à tel point de mon devoir jalouse,
Qu'en dépit de ma flamme, & malgré votre feu,
Je ne la deviendrai que de son ⁹³ propre aveu.

Her conduct seems justifiable and her logic is indisputable. The astounding fact about her is that in the heat of excitement, she can always clearly discern her duty toward others. She has a real power of wise penetration, a deliberateness of judgment that seem almost uncanny. Like others of her ilk, she has a mind, whereas in French plays with French heroines we see graceful women possessing wit rather than thought.

⁹³ Referring to the marquise.

The extraordinary fact that English women *think* is reflected in a thousand facile ways in other comedies of the eighteenth century. Boissy presents to us Miss Blar,⁹⁴ an actress who has come to France to learn happiness. A Swiss gentleman, M. Fauster, who is as wise as his name, analyzes her ailment in these terms (sc. 3):

Milédi pense trop. La pensée est mortelle.

To which she can only reiterate:

Ah! Peut-on exister, si l'on ne réfléchit?

And there is MADAME DE F. . . who cleverly indicates in a few words why Dorval, a French Anglo-maniac, is attracted by the sister of his English friend, Vindsor:⁹⁵

. . . C'est en commentant Loke,
Pope, Clarke, Addison, Swif, Stéele et Bolinbroke,
Qu'elle a su gagner notre cœur.

In the same play it is Frontin, an observant French valet, who indicates how completely reason dominates the relations of English men and women. He says (sc. 14):

A Londres la beauté, l'argent n'ont plus de droits:
La raison assortit les goûts, et non point l'âge.

And there is the refreshingly novel Juliette,⁹⁶ a young English girl who insists that her brother should not

⁹⁴ BOISSY, *La Frivolité* (1753). Cf. *supra*, p. 160.

⁹⁵ MADAME DE F. . ., *Le Rival par Amitié* (1784), Scene 12. The spelling of the proper names is accurately copied from the text.

⁹⁶ FAVART, *L'Amitié à l'épreuve* (1770).

marry the girl he loves because he has promised to be her guardian and keep her for another man. Juliette is a new kind of *confidante*, different from the general type in that she does not side with the lovers and put all her energy into deceiving every other character for their sake. And, finally, there is MADAME DE GENLIS who in her *L'Aveugle de Spa* says intimately (sc. 2):

Et d'ailleurs, je crois qu'en général les Anglaises sont plus compatissantes que nous; elles ont moins de fantaisies, moins de coquetterie; et la coquetterie étouffe et détruit presque toutes les vertus.

From all this it is but natural to conclude that the character of Englishmen as they are generally pictured has its influence on the way in which their women appear to French eyes. The women, too, become endowed with a certain instinct of reason and thought, whose presence they acknowledge and to whose influence they submit.

The thinking faculty of women being thus rather emphasized, it follows that love in England is a much more serious matter than it is in France. It is not surprising for a Frenchman to realize that if he is to obtain a favorable answer to his ardent suit for the hand of an English lady, he will have to forego some of his volatile traits. This is the sad extremity that a chevalier, racked by Miss Adelson's indifference towards him, finally reaches. He exclaims pleadingly:⁹⁷

⁹⁷ DORAT, *Le Chevalier François à Londres* (1778), Act 1, Scene 4.

Sérieuse une fois, voudrez-vous bien comprendre
 Qu'en vous idolâtrant, mon cœur est sans détour,
 Que je meurs à vos pieds de dépit et d'amour;
 Que j'ai des mœurs enfin! Car tel est votre ouvrage,
 Que je suis bien surpris de me trouver si sage:

Miss Adelson has this rare influence on the ardent Frenchman, not because she is of a particularly reflective cast of mind. She is really very different from other girls we have met. She approaches more closely the flirtatious type. It is in her nature to play with men, and especially with the men she is likely to love. But even with her, love is not a light play of gusty passion. In her presence, aspirants become tame and virtuous; even a care-free wooer like the chevalier submits to this ameliorative influence.

In Miss Adelson's conduct toward her Frenchman there is no trace of discrimination against him just because he happens to be a Frenchman. This is a little unlike FAVART's Clarice,⁹⁸ who, as we have seen, has come to love Dormant, a French nobleman. Clarice, although she lends a favorable ear to his pleadings, shared at the beginning of his suit all her father's antipathies, naturally inspired by anti-Gallican education. We see her therefore spurning her lover's kind, friendly words (sc. 4):

Je n'ai garde d'ajouter foi
 A des paroles si flatteuses:
 C'est votre style à vous. Votre première loi
 Est de nous prodiguer des louanges trompeuses.

All this sounds puritanical and home-bred, but she caps the climax when she continues:

⁹⁸ FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763).

L'art dangereux de la séduction
Est le trait principal qui vous caractérise;
Cet art que chez nous on méprise,
Fait partie en ces lieux de l'éducation.

This was probably the normal point of view in England regarding French *politesse*, and the attitude is certainly one of distrust. English plays of the period show how there became associated with Frenchmen ideas of extravagance, and flattery, and adulation of women. The kind and gentle ways of the Gaul, so unusual in England, would naturally give rise in many an unmannered Englishman to a doubt of their sincerity. It is not surprising then to meet Clarice who, like many others, has a distrust of the honeyed words, even when sincere, of her foreign wooer.

Not that our plays reveal to us amidst the varied host of English lovers only a type unanimous in its unswerving fidelity. We meet young noblemen of flighty passion and questionable sincerity even among our thoughtful lords. But their coquetting and their slight passionless endeavors at attracting the glances of the fair do not spring from the care-free heart, nor from an overflowing zest for life. Thus, in FALBAIRE'S *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771), we meet the middle-aged Scotchman, Lord Falkland, who, in his youth, had seduced a peasant girl. He has led an active life of fame and honor as governor of Jamaica, and he has also married. Yet through all the lapse of years, the burden of his early sin weighs upon him, and the moment his wife dies he starts on a repentant quest for the girl he had betrayed. His remorse be-

comes quite tiresome, especially when he has an attack of spleen. But we meet the same non-sporting tendencies in the young Sidnei.⁹⁹ Much admired by the court ladies of London and a highly successful winner of their favors, he suddenly deserts the giddy whirl for the solitude of his far-away country home. There we find him bemoaning his sins and regretting deeply his desertion of Rosalie, his well-beloved. No truly gay reveler could thus forget his joyous dignity, certainly not to the point of attempting suicide, which is exactly the sad depth to which Sidnei sinks in his mournful solitude.

One glance at Rosalie, however, convinces us that Sidnei has but little to fear as punishment for his desertion. She, too, unlike the gay girl of French comedy, has withdrawn to her country loneliness to brood dejectedly over her lover's misconduct. Her distinctive English trait is then that she does not make light of his desertion but rather that she is grieved to the heart by it. Did she find consolation in her solitude (II, 8)?

Mais, loin de voir calmer ma vive inquiétude,
Je retrouvai l'amour dans cette solitude.

So she remains faithful to Sidnei and she thereby intimates to the French audience, accustomed to other ways of stage life, that in England a girl's conception of love is more basic and sincere.

Rosalie awakens our sympathy and we are glad to see her finally united to Sidnei. In VOLTAIRE'S *L'Ecossaise* (1760) we feel very differently about

⁹⁹ GRESSET, *Sidnei* (1745).

Lady Alton, another deserted lady, who has lost her lover because of her disagreeable nature. Fortunately for Lord Murray, he has gained an insight into certain propensities of her character and he has willingly avoided any further intimacy. One can readily imagine then how Lady Alton regards her rival for Lord Murray's heart. She says to her, indicating in her words the violence of a Scotch woman's passion (II, 1):

Connaissez-vous l'amour véritable, non pas l'amour insipide, l'amour langoureux; mais cet amour-là, qui fait qu'on voudrait empoisonner sa rivale, tuer son amant et se jeter ensuite par la fenêtre? Sachez que je n'aime point autrement, que je suis jalouse, vindicative, furieuse, implacable.

It is perfectly apparent now why Lord Murray is rather anxious to find another life-mate. Lady Alton is certainly not in accordance with the general type of English woman we have met. She seems a rather familiar stage figure, that of the disappointed rival who resorts to means fair or foul in order to regain the lost love. In this respect, therefore, we must consider her ferocious nature as a conventional stage element necessary to motivate the conduct of the lovers. She is one of the obstacles they have to face.

We have to conclude then that the relationship, as we meet it in our plays, between English men and women is not based on a measured give and take of favors. Love to them does not seem a favor or a reward, but a true alliance based mainly upon reason, occasionally upon emotion. In this varied picture the English girl appears in a rather

favorable moral light, the dramatist being too gallant and too wise to draw her differently. Not so the English lover, upon the caricature of whom the dramatist may freely vent his pent-up feelings. We can readily see how for a time the adventures of Pamela with her wooers might puzzle Frenchmen. Was it really true that an attractive girl could pass through all these hazardous situations and never yield her virtue? If so, whose fault was it? BOISSY¹⁰⁰ tries to answer this provoking question, and in his endeavor he does not spare our English lovers, at whose door he comically lays the blame for Pamela's virtuous success. In his *Paméla en France* (1743), the wonderful girl comes to visit Paris; and it is BOISSY's intention that before the end of his play she shall lose the possession for which she was justly famous. Her concierge says to her (I, 5):

Non, la victoire au fond n'est pas si surprenante;
 Dans vos climats vous n'avez éprouvé,
 Que les combats grossiers & la hauteur choquante
 D'un Gentilhomme brusque & des plus mal appris,
 Qui toujours vous traite en servante,
 Et vous prodigue à tout propos
 Les agréables noms, les doux et tendres mots
 Et de sottise et d'impertinente.

Such rudeness was inconceivable of lovers in France, where Pamela encounters men who do not force her favors but coax them by polite flattery. This difference of procedure accounts to a large extent for

¹⁰⁰ He was one of many that tried to dramatize RICHARDSON's novel, which was translated by PRÉVOST in 1742. D'ARNAUD, LA CHAUSSÉE, D'AUCOUR, and others failed in the attempt. VOLTAIRE clearly showed the same influence in *Nanine*.

the ease with which English girls in our dramas preserve their goodness when courted by their countrymen. It also serves to illustrate a tendency remarked before, the invincibility of the French wooer and the superiority of his manner.

Our composite picture of English womanhood and its manifestations of love would be incomplete if we omitted DORAT's vivid description of coquettes. England has her degraded women as well as the more thoughtful and polished caste we have met. Here are a few of these wasted females:¹⁰¹

. . . La Stuard, si naïve en ses mœurs,
 Qui, d'un air enfantin, fait si bien des noircieurs.
 . . . Castelmaine . . . qui, toujours plus hardie,
 Se donne à cinquante ans les airs d'une étourdie,
 Et ne distingue pas, tant son œil est distrait,
 Le visage qu'elle a de celui qu'elle avait.

We meet, however, very few of these outwardly decorative women. The lack is itself conspicuous, and strikes a more characteristic note than any prolonged study in detail of English courtesans could afford us, if they existed. There might be little distinctive about them, since by their conduct they would attempt to approach closely similar women in France. Their salient qualities could hardly be different on the stage, since graceful indecency would predominate. Practically the woman of loose morals in England is for us a dramatic nonentity.

If we do find hinted at in our plays a sort of general accusation against English morality and marriage; this is relieved of its harshness by the largely

¹⁰¹ DORAT, *Le Chevalier François à Londres* (1778), Act 1, Scene 2.

satirical sense that accompanies it. We find such an utterance in MADAME DE GENLIS'S *Le Voyageur*,¹⁰² made by the foppish and insincere Comte de Melville. He is telling his friends about his travels, embellishing his story with many lies and insisting especially on the number of his fair victims in foreign lands. Says he, in the very act of utterance detracting from the value of anything he is about to remark (II, 3):

Les Anglaises surtout quand elles aiment, c'est avec une violence. . . . J'en ai connu une entre autres, bien surprenante à cet égard. . . . Belle comme le jour, très piquante, très à la mode, hé bien, cette femme (dont le nom est très connu, même ici) est capable d'un excès de passion qui surpasse tout ce qu'on peut lire dans les romans les moins vraisemblables . . . une impétuosité d'imagination, un feu, une chaleur, une délicatesse! . . . et une manière d'écrire, véritablement pleine d'énergie et de séduction.

Yet even if we took this entrancing English lady for granted, we might well admit her charm and her power. In her all is light and beauty, and even her questionable qualities seem proper. She is, however, as rare in our plays as her next of kin, the pure coquette. And, when we study carefully this apparent lack in English women of frivolity and its attendant dangers, we come to ascribe as its cause, to some extent, the thoughtful nature of these women, a characteristic we have already noted. But to an even larger extent we discern its cause in the kind of love that Englishmen have to offer their womenfolk.

For we must not forget that frivolity is not the mainstay of an Englishman's life; his is a satur-

¹⁰² *Théâtre d'Education*, Paris, Leconte et Durey (1825), Vol. 4.

nine temperament. To him analysis of the facts round about him is as natural as the air he breathes. But who may analyze with impunity the divine gifts of joy and passion and inspiration? What merciless havoc the slightest application of thought often works upon these soul-born fragrances! BOISSY, in his inimitable way, puts it thus:¹⁰³

Et l'Anglois si profond, ou qui passe pour tel,
Creuse dans le frivole & tombe dans le vuide.

This note concerning the Englishman's faculty for thought we have met before. We have seen its deplorably pessimistic results upon his character, as evidenced in his daily acts and relations. We are now to witness this reasonableness as applied to his love-making; and we shall agree that as a result some startling phenomena occur in his amorous quests.

The first interesting fact we discern about our ambitious wooers is that they do not attach much significance to the lady's past adventures. They seem to realize that the present is the all-important question, and we may add for them that they probably have an abiding faith in the lady's preservation of her virtue. However, it seems to be part of the system of reasonable love-making to disregard by-gones. An Englishman in ROMAGNESI'S *L'Amant Protée* (1739) says of his nation (I, 5):

Monsieur, je suis levé dans un séjour
Où l'on n'a pas tant de délicatesse:
On compte seulement du jour
Où l'on a pris sa femme ou sa maîtresse;
Le tems passé ne flatte ni ne blesse.

¹⁰³ BOISSY, *La Frivolité* (1753), Scene 2. The quaint spelling of *vuide* is due to its rime with *guide*.

Perhaps he is lying in his efforts to make light of the questionable adventures of Orphise, a French lady who has captivated his heart. We find, besides, contradictory references that indicate how on the question of his lady's past the Englishman was ludicrously discriminating. Thus in PIRON's comic opera, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), when the quest for a virtuous lady in Spain proves futile, Arlequin, one of the seekers, is forced to avow that the English lord is wisest in his way of so choosing that there can be no doubt about his wife's probity. Arlequin describes it as follows (I, 2):

Pour pouvoir d'un si beau trésor
 Etre témoin fidelle,
 Mariez-vous comme un milord,
 A quelque jouvencelle
 De bas âge, & qui soit encor
 A la mamelle.

It would be very illuminating indeed if we met this distrust of the fair sex elsewhere among our Englishmen. We find rather that they have an implicit faith in their womenfolk. Their love-problems do not arise from doubts and perplexities due to lack of faith or to suspicious conduct. Rarely do we find in these plays the intricacies and entanglements characteristic of the Spanish and Italian plot. The relationships of lovers are more dignified and really on a higher scale. No concealments or disguises necessitate a prolonged imbroglio. That is why our plays with English characters make so much better reading even when written by extremely inferior dramatists. The worth of the material often throws

a glamour over the incapacity of the authors; and especially in a play with a clear plot and swift dialogue are we likely to soften our judgment even of awkward blunders. How easily we forgive SHAW!

It is an interesting question then to decide whether, were it possible to isolate certain typical love-problems, we could definitely assert and maintain that the characters concerned are English. We are inclined to believe that we could generally judge aright.

For example, can one conceive of a Spanish, or an Italian, or even a French Belfort? This is what Milord Belfort¹⁰⁴ did: he was to marry Emilie, when he learns that his friend the Marquis d'Orville is desperately in love with her and losing his health because of the hopelessness of his passion. Belfort immediately renounces all claim to prior right in Emilie and hands her over magnificently to Orville. Belfort is an M. P., with all that that implies, and his judicial mind conceives no obstacle to his unselfish donation of the girl he is to marry. The act may somewhat disparage his love, but it is this very fact that makes it so eminently English.

Or, when we meet Nelson,¹⁰⁵ another member of Parliament, and find him handing Coralie, a young East Indian girl to whom he is passionately devoted, over to his friend Blandfort, we are naturally struck by a similarity. In Nelson's case, the transaction takes place merely because Nelson has promised to guard Coralie till Captain Blandfort returns from a distant voyage. During his absence, ward and guardian fall in love with each other. The Indian girl, prim-

¹⁰⁴ BOISSY, *L'Epoux par Supercherie* (1744).

¹⁰⁵ FAVART, *L'Amitié à l'épreuve* (1770).

itive in her nature and simple in thought, cannot see any reason why they should not live together. Not so the stern Nelson, who realizes his duty. He remains unshaken, and when his friend returns he gives up his charge as he received her, showing only in his tragic demeanor the cost to his soul of that act. All ends happily for the lovers, and in this case we feel glad that Nelson's nobility has not resulted in an irreparable loss.

Or, if we turn to the interesting variation of this plot that MADAME DE F. . . offers in her *Le Rival par Amitié* (1784), we meet Vindsor who deliberately falls in love with a French girl, Lucille, in order to cure her true lover, Dorval, of his extreme Anglo-mania, which includes a dislike of French women. Dorval at first encourages Vindsor in his suit and willingly gives up his claim to Lucille. This is certainly astonishing in a Frenchman (sc. 8):

Vindsor. Vous vous moquez, Dorval. Quoi! vous me livrez

Une femme charmante, et que vous adorez!

Dorval. Quoi! vous êtes Anglois, et ce trait vous étonne!

Later, when Dorval realizes that Lucille is slipping away from him, his latent jealousy and sense of possession dominate, and he demands the gift which he has so freely given. And, of course, Vindsor stands perfectly ready to return Lucille.

When we ask whether this magnanimous transfer of beloved objects is indicative of unreal passion, we come to a debatable question. We are inclined to venture the opinion that the Englishman's love as

presented in these plays is in itself not essentially different from the same divine spark in men of other nations. He feels the same emotions, suffers the same uncertainties, and eventually marries in the same way. What distinguishes his ardor from other kinds is the state of mind that accompanies it. In our plays, an Englishman is never dominated by his love. He is generally able to get away from it, to view it, to analyze it. Since it is more or less prone to paralyze his thought faculties, he naturally regards it with suspicion. In fact, he reiterates that it is a weakness that must be overcome. As Nelson puts it:¹⁰⁶

L'amour ne doit troubler la paix
Qui règne dans une âme.
Je triompherai de sa flâme.
Céder à la tendresse! . . .
J'aurois cette foiblesse! . . .
Non, non, jamais.

The Anglo-Saxon seems to have something in his make-up that enables him to stop in the heat of excitement and reflect over the consequences of his acts. He sees beyond the immediate; he even succeeds in freeing himself from his own skin. He has a larger social consciousness and realizes that his conduct affects others besides himself.

An Englishman's love-problem is therefore knitted with some larger problem of moral import, the betrayal of friendship, the maintenance of honest dealing, the question of unselfishness. It is by these tokens that we may hope to recognize a love-plot

¹⁰⁶ FAVART, *L'Amitié à l'Epreuve* (1770), Scene 3.

abstracted from its characters and stated in general terms. It is above all by its guiding sense of reason and moderation that we can discern the English type. Let us take the case of a lover whom we shall identify later. He is generous, brave, sincere. He is forty years old. He has fallen in love with a young girl, but he cannot boldly press his suit, though he is entitled to deepest gratitude on her part for his services to her father and his help in her upbringing. He realizes how much older he is. In his mind there results a true and poignant struggle between his impulse and his reason, and, in mental distress, he utters these notable words:¹⁰⁷

Puisque je ne puis vaincre une ardeur qui m'entraîne,
Ma raison sur mes sens se rendant souveraine,
Lui fera du devoir subir la juste loi,
Et la saura du moins rendre digne de moi.
Mais doit-elle éclater? Ou doit-elle se taire?

So he pauses and wonders whether he had better conceal his passion. After a long struggle he confides in his servant, whom he treats like a brother. We learn then that he fears a refusal and that he could not bear the shame of it. Nor has he any desire to conceal his age and adopt a system of flattery and foppery so characteristic of the life about him in Paris. He confesses to his servant (I, 3):

. . Ton maître novice à pousser des soupirs,
Ignore l'art flatteur d'exprimer ses désirs;
Et, d'un amant soumis, je rougis à mon âge,
De venir faire ici le triste apprentissage.

¹⁰⁷ BOISSY, *Le Comte de Neuilli* (1736), Act 1, Scene 3.

Je vais du ridicule affronter le danger,
Sur-tout dans un pays où je suis étranger,
Le centre des bons airs, où l'agrément préside,
Où la mode gouverne, & le dehors décide.
Un rien choque, à Paris, l'œil d'un sexe charmant,
Qui se rend à la grâce et non au sentiment:
Il faut être enjoué pour lui paraître aimable,
Et, si l'on ne badine, on n'est pas agréable.
Vieilli dans la douleur, puis-je plaire à présent?
Je sais être fidèle, & non pas amusant;
Des François séducteurs je n'ai pas le mérite;
Mais quand j'en aurois l'art, j'en fuirais la conduite.
Je serois, à ce prix, honteux d'avoir vaincu;
Et l'amour est un monstre où manque la vertu.

In this high moral vein, he sees his problem and solves it. When the worst has happened and he has been refused, he is merely stimulated by his misery into an energetic activity in behalf of others that alleviates a bit the keenness of his despair. He has been cut deep, we can see that. But we cannot refrain from thinking as we watch him bestirring himself for others, that his wound is rather mental than cardiac. He eventually reasons himself back into a hopeful state from which he can survey the past with calm. And when the girl, for whom he would gladly have given everything, announces her intention of marrying another man, he bequeaths his money to them in order to help them overcome the opposition of the lover's parents. This lover, who possesses all the grandeur and elevation of a Cornelian hero, figures in one of BOISSY'S comedies. No wonder the author felt the necessity of qualifying his play by naming it *Le Comte de Neuilli, Comédie héroïque*. It does not fall short of the heroic, as we have seen,

and our hero is an Englishman. We recognize him by all conceivable tests of character and conduct. And we recognize him especially in his philosophy of love, which he voices thus (IV, 2):

Son bonheur m'est cent fois plus cher que le mien même.
J'aspire au nom d'Epoux & non pas de Tyran;
Et de la liberté je suis trop partisan.

It would perhaps be a little disconcerting if we met in all English lovers this intensely moral conduct and impeccable whiteness of character. Fortunately for the reality of things, our dramatists do not fall into this error. We have already met several types of Englishmen of a pretty low kind, a fact which is evidence that to our unbiased Frenchmen there were different sorts and conditions in all nations. Let us therefore suffer the presentation of a kind of lover totally different from the respectable ones we have met. He is Milord Guinée (Guinea)¹⁰⁸ and lives up to his name. His billet-doux sent to Constance, a French girl, shows the state of his mind (I, 7):

Vous avoir vue avant hier au Tuilerie avec votre sœur, pour la première fois; n'avoir su votre nom et votre demeure que par un de mes gens, qui a suivi votre carrosse en sortant; vous avoir adorée depuis ce moment-là; oser vous l'écrire aujourd'hui, dans l'impossibilité de vous le dire; et vouloir vous épouser après-demain si vous et les vôtres y consentez; tout cela vous dit, Madame, que vous êtes Françoise, c'est-à-dire, faite pour faire naître d'un coup d'œil la passion la plus rapide; & que je suis Anglois, c'est-à-dire, extrême, et né pour sentir plus fortement qu'un autre, et pour agir en conséquence.

¹⁰⁸ BOISSY, *La Surprise de la Haine* (1734).

Thus he continues pressing his suit and urging the need of haste. Delay seems to him entirely unnecessary, now that he has taken this somewhat informal way of introducing himself. Besides, he is an Englishman; which fact should be taken to explain, according to him, the strength of his passion when once awakened. Milord is very frank on this point (III, 5):

N'épouse point l'esprit, j'épouse la personne;
Il faut voir devant soi toujours un bel objet,
Sans quoi le mariage ennuyer tout à fait.

Constance is then an ideal wife for him, for she attracts him in the way he likes. He tries to tell her in a halting manner that he loves her, and his words make the nature of his love altogether obvious. He says to her (I, 9):

. . . Oui, c'est votre visage.
En faveur de l'amour, faites grâce au langage.
Tourner un compliment n'est pas l'art d'un Anglois;
Mais regardez mes yeux, ils parlent bon François.

We realize, nevertheless, that with all his bluff manner and crude words, Milord Guinée is going to make a good husband. His affection will be of the even kind, without jealousies, without quarrels, without exaggeration. Good common sense unalloyed with the slightest romantic tinge will guide his movements.

And when we mention the romantic, we are reminded of its conspicuous lack in the constitution of the Englishman. We have already seen how reason as a mental faculty forms one of the guiding prin-

ciples of the philosophic islanders. But we must guard against the possible impression that this faculty turns our characters into abstract thinkers addicted to vague unrealities. On the contrary, Englishmen seem to have a practical reason applicable to any circumstance immediate or remote. This is to be remarked even in their love-making. We have seen it in Milord Guinée, in Belfort, and in Vindsor; but let us add the noteworthy instance of Captain Blandfort.¹⁰⁹ About to marry, he appreciates the possibilities of fate and exacts from his fiancée a promise that she will marry again in case he dies. To facilitate the fulfilment of this agreement he includes in the marriage contract a factitious clause stating that he has received from her a property near Dublin affording an income of £1000 sterling. We can sympathize with this lie and possibly even with its purpose. But the whole procedure, considered from the point of view of the French audience, must have seemed exotic, peculiarly English.

Our plays, so wonderful for their inclusiveness, have so far shown us English lovers in their relation before marriage. We do, however, encounter in our gallery of characters a few who have borne the brunt of marital life for some time; and we must admit that their experience has generally been beneficial and broadening. Sonbridge,¹¹⁰ seduced and disillusioned by a lord, has never forgotten the sad event that befell her; and when her daughter Fanny elects to marry a simple merchant in preference to an ardent nobleman, the mother gladly assents. Extraor-

¹⁰⁹ FAVART, *L'Amitié à l'Epreuve* (1770).

¹¹⁰ FALBAIRE, *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771).

dinary mother! She even conceives it her duty to tell Vilson the merchant, before their marriage, of the illegal birth of her daughter. Fanny fully justifies her maternal inheritance. She proves a devoted wife and attaches to herself by her loving care the two children of her husband by a former marriage. When financial ruin faces the family Fanny gives away her jewels in payment of debts, and by her courage upholds her husband in his despair. She is a sweet character and a dignified type. Simple and gentle she must have seemed to the French audience.

In Molly Spencer¹¹¹ we meet a similar type of woman facing an entirely different set of circumstances. She is the wife of a prosperous master-carpenter. Her father, Thomas Frick, visiting an orphan asylum one day, was attracted by a smart lad whom he adopted and trained in his profession of joiner. This boy, whose parentage was unknown, later married Molly, Frick's daughter, and we find the happy family of three living in peace and joy. Then the cloud gathers. It is discovered that Thomas Spencer is really the scion of a noble house. His father had been forced into exile and had left the care of his son to chance. Lord Kiston, a Knight of the Garter, interests himself for the dispossessed nobleman and obtains the king's consent to a complete restoration of the name and honors due him. But this cannot include Molly, for she is of lowly birth and the laws of the court rigidly debar her from participation in her husband's honors. Rather than enjoy his new-gotten splendors without her, Spencer

¹¹¹ LONGUEIL, *L'Orphelin Anglois* (1769).

willingly renounces them. Molly obstinately refuses this sacrifice and insists that her husband accept his fortune, serve his country, and leave her to her humble existence. She must not retard his progress, but she will love him from afar as she watches his rapid advance to fame and honor. Spencer cannot agree to this arrangement, he loves his wife too well. The king, touched by their devotion, removes all obstacles and the two remain united.

Molly is a woman of true and tender feelings, a very paragon of virtuous wifehood. She reflects honor on her nation. She practically sums up all the qualities with which our dramatists invest good English wives. Those we have met thus far are certainly guided by their moral excellence and by their devotion to their husbands. This is quite unlike the less dignified characters of the wives of other nations whom we have met. But we may go even further into this strange dissimilarity and remark that even when an English woman has the ordinary conventional ground for proving faithless to her husband, she does not take advantage of it. In DORAT's *Le Chevalier François à Londres* (1778), Lady Halifax is married to an old lord who is more interested in scientific experiment than in her, and who gives her free rein to pursue her own interests. One comments immediately: a splendid situation to introduce a lover, an intrigue. Miss Adelson, a friend of Lady Halifax, says to her, referring to her pent-up life in the country (I, 5):

Avouez; dans vos champs, vous périssez d'ennui.

Miladi answers:

Ah! c'est assez l'usage auprès d'un vieux mari,
J'aime le mien pourtant, c'est un homme estimable.

And in these words lies the key to her character. Simple in taste, virtuous by nature, she feels no need for a love escapade; in fact, she conceives a veritable affection for her distant husband, an affection based on respect for him. All this shows a power of discrimination and judgment that compels our own respect for Lady Halifax. Although she embarks on the rather questionable course of flirting with a French chevalier for the sake of her friend as well as for the sake of the plot, there is never at any moment a breath of suspicion against her. In all her conduct she enhances our esteem for the virtue of the women of her nation.

This perfect devotion and serene goodness might naturally in some moments of stress result in a lack of strength or fiber. This possibility is exemplified for us by one of FALBAIRE's characters, Ladi Belton.¹¹² She is too milky sweet altogether, and has absolutely no control over the vicious life her husband is leading. She is submissive, too full of forgiveness, always ready to receive her husband back with open arms. She softly pleads with him to leave his wicked ways with other women. Generally, however, she sits and waits for him to come back penitent, and in her resignation she often resembles a stupid lamb (I, 5):

Qu'il me rende son cœur & le mien lui pardonne.
J'oublierai tous ses torts, ses mépris, ses travers:
Qu'il revienne, l'ingrat, mes bras lui sont ouverts.

¹¹² FALBAIRE, *L'Ecole des Mœurs* (1776).

She is finally brought to the pass where she has neither money nor jewels left, because she has faithfully disposed of all her possessions in her effort to make reparation for the wrongs committed by Lord Belton on various innocent girls. While her generosity appears in these acts, her stupidity shines even more brilliantly; for what woman could fail to see that such a course of reparative conduct would only serve to encourage a husband in his vile ways? A character of neither spirit nor force, milady finally determines to leave the house; but, at the slightest sign of regret on the part of milord, she easily changes her mind and remains. Naturally, the play ends with his complete reformation, an outcome as ridiculous as it is unplausible.

However, in spite of Ladi Belton's tame submissiveness and tamer rebellion, we cannot deny that she has a standard of conduct, and that her instincts make her generous and kindly. She is a type of woman, not particularly English, placed in an unfavorable environment and unequal to coping with it. She is English in her devotion to her husband. Can one conceive of a lively stage character of the French or Italian type acting in the same helpless manner in the face of a husband's desertion? We may well imagine that there would be a more lively opposition, some intrigue elaborately planned and executed to appeal to the husband's jealousy and thus turn his erring heart back to his energetic wife.

In these lovers whom we have met we can find but few traits that border on the unfaithful and the dishonest. If we therefore judged from the point of view of drama the rank and file of English married

folk, we could confidently assert that they generally appeared before our French auditors as a very wholesome and happy set of people. It is only in indirect references that we catch a glimpse of another side of married life in the British Isles. Thus Milord Guinée¹¹³ in his efforts to make England seem quite homelike to a French girl, decks out his land in a colored garb that has many French glints in it. He maintains that in the morning the cup of love overflows for man and wife in England, and there is joy for both. In the afternoon they become a little indifferent, and finally, a little later, they quarrel. Then comes a reconciliation, and another quarrel. These alternate till night, when the two are definitely reunited once more. At this description, Lucile, a French girl, is forced to exclaim (I, 9):

Il pense là-dessus aussi bien qu'un François.

But milord continues, unconscious of exaggeration:

Vivre à sa fantaisie est un droit du Pays;
Et nos maris Anglois effacent en dépense,
Et passent en bonté tous vos maris de France.
Londre est pour le beau sexe un séjour enchanté.
L'opulence y préside avec la liberté.

All this is rather pardonable boasting on the part of an ardent English lover anxious to make his country appear normal to French eyes. In it there is no hint of widespread immorality nor of general disaffection between married people. We meet, however, with a scathing denunciation of English conduct in FALBAIRE'S *Les Suites du Libertinage* (1776),

¹¹³ BOISSY, *La Surprise de la Haine* (1734).

a play with a moral. In it, Jonathan, a vile agent for a lord's base purposes, utters this Mephistophelian indictment (III, 7):

Tous les honnêtes gens aujourd'hui font de même.
 Ils se sont arrangés pour se faire un système;
 Et, ma foi, je l'approuve. Entre eux il est reçu
 Qu'un homme qui seroit déshonoré, perdu,
 Pour voler un schelling, peut, sans craindre le blâme,
 Voler à tout le monde ou sa fille ou sa femme.
 Met-on de l'importance à ces misères-là?
 On s'amuse à présent, on rit de tout cela.
 Chaque femme est à Londres un effet qui circule,
 Et celui qui l'attrape en jouit sans scrupule,
 Jusqu'à ce que, changeant de goûts et de destins,
 La coquette s'échappe & passe en d'autres mains.

HAD FALBAIRE dared to write Paris instead of London, he would have done so. And this consideration, we must admit, disposes at once of this horrible cess-pool of vice attributed to English life. FALBAIRE's intent in his whole play was reformatory, hardly revolutionary, though he levels some bitter accusations at the heads of guilty nobles. Even in 1776, no French reformer could as yet venture to name in loud tones abuses and malpractices while he remained in France. So FALBAIRE adopts the only safe way and stages his vices in London, just as BEAUMARCHAIS chose Spain for the home of his immortal discontent. This method, glaring in its obviousness, was really just as efficient as more openly belligerent measures.

We have by now interviewed the most interesting figures in our long dramatic gallery of English characters. We have had the honor of meeting

kings and we have perhaps been surprised at their rather human appearance and conduct. We have come to know many aristocrats, some polite, others gruff, some melancholy, others generous, most of them abstracted and thoughtful, some ridiculous, a few vicious, and finally, one or two gifted writers. In almost all of these high-born men, we have found sterling qualities — dignity, mentality, power, sincerity. We have wandered freely among Englishmen of middle rank, merchants, officers, manufacturers, workmen, clerks, tutors, gaolers, servants. On all hands, again, we have seen the same good qualities of a strong race — honesty, wisdom, friendliness. Lastly in our voyage we have been guided through a host of lovers and have found in them the reflection of the fine attributes of their parents and their teachers. What an overwhelming number of good characters, good in every ethical sense! How eloquently this significant fact speaks to us! Our study points out in unmistakable terms the undeniable fact of the admiration of the French people for the English. Our study, by its insistence on certain traits generally met with, has also indicated to us what particular characteristics of Englishmen our dramatists, and therefore their audiences, seized upon. The general reconstruction and interweaving of these attributes, upon which rests the “type” Englishman, we have seen to be a very favorable one, although history might point offhand to a totally different conclusion. Finally, with all these facts concerning their northern neighbors so truly appreciated by our writers, we have indicated here and there the broadening influence which observation of

governmentally free Englishmen and their methods fostered, and which culminated in a worship of everything English before the great social and political earthquake of 1789. Studies along similar lines of other forms of literature might round out these influences which we have discerned in the drama, but they cannot indicate more clearly or more insistently the main features of the relationship between the two greatest nations of the world in the eighteenth century.

VIII — PERVERTED ENGLISH SPEECH AND BAD FRENCH

When PENNANT, an English antiquary, visited VOLTAIRE at Ferney in 1765, he found that the witty thinker had become somewhat rusty in his use of English.¹¹⁴ The one thing VOLTAIRE did easily remember was a series of curses and oaths. Of these he was still a perfect master. This is doubly interesting when we remember that VOLTAIRE had published works in English written in flowing style and idiomatic diction. But now the words that had left the deepest impressions on his mind were the forcible ones. We must admit that this seems natural. In our own day a man who does not know French or Spanish or Italian or German will probably recognize, *Diable! Caramba! Cristo! and Donnerwetter!*, while perhaps blissfully unconscious that the harmless English exclamation *oh dear!* is probably from the now equally harmless French *O Dieu!* and the English *dear me!* from the Italian *Dio mio!*

¹¹⁴ *The Literary Life of the Late Thomas Pennant*, page 6.

English oaths have a peculiar fascination for Frenchmen. They never become quite the rage, because the French language is plentifully supplied with its own euphonious invectives and exclamations. But even in early days English imprecations had popularly come to stand as type words for the whole language and Englishmen themselves were called "godons,"¹¹⁵ the nasal equivalent of a somewhat similar though unmentionable English expletive. The universality of this last oath is most astounding. It appears to the French mind as an exclusive and decisive characteristic of any English sentence. Its utterance on the stage was enough to signify either that the character was English, or could speak the language. Figaro declares that he knows English, and to prove it he offers his acquaintance with *G—d d—n*:¹¹⁶

Diable! c'est une belle langue que l'anglais; il en faut peu pour aller loin. Avec God-dam, en Angleterre, on ne manque de rien, nulle part. Voulez-vous tâter d'un bon poulet gras: entrez dans une taverne et faites seulement ce geste au garçon (il tourne la broche): God-dam! on vous apporte un pied de bœuf salé sans pain. C'est admirable! Aimez-vous à boire un coup d'excellent Bourgogne ou de Clairet, rien que celui-ci (il débouche une bouteille): God-dam! on vous sert un pot de bière, en bel étain, la mousse aux bords. Quelle satisfaction! Rencontrez-vous une de ces jolies personnes qui vont trottant menu, les yeux baissés, coudes en arrière et tortillant un peu des hanches; mettez mignardement tous les doigts unis sur la bouche, Ah! God-dam!

¹¹⁵ OLIVIER BASSELIN, *Chanson Patriotique*, fifteenth century.

¹¹⁶ *La Folle Journée*, Act 3, Scene 5. BEAUMARCHAIS's *Eugénie* has not been discussed in this chapter, although its characters are English. The play was first written with French characters and arbitrarily changed. Hence it is of little value.

elle vous sangle un soufflet de crocheteur. Preuve qu'elle entend. Les Anglais, à la vérité, ajoutent par-ci par-là quelques autres mots en conversant; mais il est bien aisé de voir que God-dam est le fond de la langue.

With the English language thus reduced to a cursing simplicity, it is not surprising that whenever an English character is made to speak his own language or a deformed French, his nationality can always be recognized by his copious use of imprecations. There is Williams¹¹⁷ for instance, a Welshman, who suspects that his daughter Laurette is receiving the attentions of the graceful Florestan. When he catches her with a love-note, his rage flows out with "Ah! damnation, god-dam!" Blondel, a Frenchman who overhears him, says (I, 6):

Goddam! Est-ce que vous êtes Anglais?

Williams. Oui, je le suis.

Blondel. Vigoureuse nation!

This characterization of the nation by one of its oaths has its significance. *G—d d—n* is a combination of strong sounds, and in its expressiveness it can hardly be excelled by any other combination of two words. It contains in its two monosyllables the High Principle as well as the Nether One. The utterance of it involves the intensity and force of a bellowing rage. No wonder that this malediction left a deep impression in the French mind and eventually came to represent a certain quality of the English. A nation that could use it so naturally must be vigorous, lusty, robust, forcible. One may

¹¹⁷ SEDAINE, *Richard Cœur-de-Lion* (1784).

truly and seriously assert that *G—d d—n* produced a profound psychological effect in the Frenchman's estimate of his Channel neighbor, associated as it became with ideas of strength and force.

The very lack of variety in the small family of English invectives made its few members seem more energetic. Yet none could dim the extreme snap and brilliance of the original *G—d d—n*. In one of our plays,¹¹⁸ Tomson, an English officer, suffers the most provoking incident that can befall any man, that of losing the girl he has set his heart upon. What rouses his ire even further is her execrable preference for a gallant Frenchman. Tomson vents his anger in an awful torrent of abuse. He threatens that the lovers are bound to come to blows inside of two months, and finally explodes with (sc. 15):

Traître, je me pendrois si vous étiez heureux.
French dog, *G—d d—n* you for a son of a —

This impressive anger with its expressive accompaniment is the severest example of its kind that we have found. In ROMAGNESI'S *L'Amant Protée* we meet another Englishman who has three rivals for the hand of the fair Orphise. He blusters a good deal and is ever ready to fight them. But the worst challenge he throws at them is "Teek mi deel," which we may paraphrase, "Take my deal." He is a comparatively gentle scion of a forcible nation.

The only other interesting and characteristic phrase we have met is the French perversion of "How do you do?" In SAURIN'S play, *L'Anglo-*

¹¹⁸ FAVART, *Le Mariage par escalade* (1756).

manie (1772), Damis determines to pose as an Englishman in order to win the favor of Eraste, an Anglomaniac, and guardian of the girl he loves. Damis refers to Eraste's knowledge of English (sc. 1):

Mais je sais que pour lui leur Langue est de l'Arabe,
 Il n'en sait pas une syllabe;
 Moi, j'en puis écorcher quelques mots au besoin.
(Il contrefait l'accent Anglois)
 Odi dou; Miss, Kismi.

If carefully pronounced, this will hardly need translation. We have already met the Marquis de Polinville ¹¹⁹ and heard his accusation against English social conversation. According to him Englishmen have nothing else to say but "Howd'eyd'o," a phrase which they repeat for a whole hour.

The personal proper names employed by our dramatists are generally clear and attributable to Englishmen. *Craff*, *Kensington*, *Freeport*, *Arlington*, *Rochester*, and many others are decidedly indigenous. *Rosbif* is of course descriptive of the Britisher's favorite viand. Among women, we have met *Betzi*, *Fanny*, *Molly*, and *Jenny*, and a great many miladies and misses. Christian names are much more common for female characters than for male. We can, however, register such names as *David*, *Richard*, *Jacques*, all of which are usual French names too. *Charles* and *James* are found without the *s*, since its omission facilitates the versification and it is not pronounced by Frenchmen. Most often the feminine names chosen are those that have French equiva-

¹¹⁹ BOISSY, *Le François à Londres* (1727). Cf. p. 172.

lents, and then the names are entirely Frenchified. Hence *Léonore*, *Emilie*, *Constance*, *Laurette*, *Lucile*. *Finette* is frequently found, but the name is always applied to a French maid in the employ of an English lady. We find *Vindsor* and *Vilson* for the English equivalents with *w*. We also find *Chéroud* for Sherwood, *Semur* for Seymour, the usual *Cantorbéry*, and the logical *Chespir* for Shakespeare.

Rarely indeed is there specific indication, either by direct or by indirect reference, of a character's derivation from one of the British Isles. Welshmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen are all generously con-founded in the type Englishman. In 1707 Scotchmen became British by law; hence in continental minds racial differences naturally tended to disappear. Besides, in almost all the plays which have their scene in England, the action takes place in London. This uniformity, one might say unity of place, practically disposed of the notion that the British Islanders might belong to separate races and consolidated them for the French mind into one nation.

We have already seen that the French knowledge of the English language, as it is revealed in our plays, was not particularly extensive. The opposite is true as to the extent of the English acquaintance with French. Nearly all our characters speak the angelic language perfectly, whether the scene be in France or in England. As a fact, English society knew the graceful tongue and often used it socially.

Yet some of our dramatists are at intervals tempted to add to the exotic nature of their material by introducing touches of imperfect language that are often amusing. COLLÉ exaggerates some-

what in this respect when his Lord Sindereze,¹²⁰ who has been in France twenty years, swears "Par Saint Patrissch!" and proceeds, in execrable French, to explain his past sins (sc. 10):

Point, Matame, ch'épargne rien, moi; rien. Ch'épargne point plis mes foibless' à moi seul . . . Ché reproche touchour à moi le grand aversion que j'ai eue, jadis, pour moi marier . . . ce qui m'a fait commettre des malhonnêtetés avec les femmes; et même, qui m'a empêché autrefois d'épouser fous, Matame . . . oui . . . OUI . . . et c'est pour cela que je suis été venu à c'theure chez fous, pour achever d'apaiser les remords de mon conscience . . .

This perversion is quite labored. It has the earmarks of a German tongue, rather than that of an English one. A natural touch is the displacement of the objective pronoun, "épouser vous" instead of *vous épouser*. In BOISSY, we find again "j'épouse vous."¹²¹ BOISSY also introduces frequently the infinitive in place of tense forms. Milord Guinée says,¹²¹ trying to induce a French girl to marry him:

Vous faire infiniment d'honneur à l'Angleterre.
Pour mieux justifier votre estime pour nous,
Moi, vous mener à Londre en qualité d'époux,
Vous, recevoir l'accueil & tout l'éclat insigne,
Que mérite mon rang & dont vous êtes digne.

When we compare the language of this nobleman with that of the ordinary Jacques Splin, a seasoned traveler, we see that the latter is at no disadvantage. He says, swearing at the loquacious innkeeper:¹²²

¹²⁰ COLLÉ, *La Vérité dans le Vin* (1747).

¹²¹ BOISSY, *La Surprise de la Haine* (1734), Act 1, Scene 9.

¹²² PATRAT, *L'Anglois* (1781), Scene 6.

Ce diable d'homme, il aime beaucoup pour parler. Je crois que j'ai mal fait de pas me tuer hier dans cette autre hôtellerie; j'aurois fait plus tranquillement qu'ici.

This certainly indicates a rather good acquaintance with the French language. We see traces of similar linguistic ability in all of these English characters who are made to speak a perverted French. Their arrangement of words is seldom outrageously bad. It is true that Doctor Bristol, one of CARMONTELLE'S characters, stutters horribly through an effort to express his gratitude toward a French lady: ¹²³

C'est un grand bonté; mais mon conversation il est ingratement à cause de la langage que je ne suis pas encore bien au fait.

But he speaks good French elsewhere, and we can readily understand how at the moment of thanking a pretty woman for her kindness even an English doctor might lose control over his tongue and speak with a little embarrassment.

The highest praise of the Englishman's knowledge of French comes from SAURIN. In his *L'Anglomanie* (1772), Eraste, one of the characters, has just received a letter from Lord Cobham. The latter knows French, but he uses English even when he writes to his French friends, because, as Eraste explains (sc. 4):

. . . Le bon Milord,
Blessé que notre langue étende son empire,
Possède le Français & ne veut pas l'écrire.

The Englishman might well have been envious of the popularity of the French tongue among social

¹²³ CARMONTELLE, *Le Patagon*, Scene 5. In his *Théâtre de Campagne*.

and literary circles. This slight reference to the universality of the beautiful tongue of the nation of talkers is in itself a clear explanation of the marked ability in speaking their language with which our dramatists invest all their foreign characters, Englishmen no less than others.

IX — LITERARY CONSIDERATIONS

We shall confine the few remarks we have to make under this head to actual literary differences between the French and the English, as brought out in their dramatic relationships. We could bring forth various authorities to illustrate our contentions, but here we shall cite only a few writers.

First let us mention a most significant racial dissimilarity as it appears in one of our plays. We remember how in the trying year 1756, when the two countries were thrown into a volcanic upheaval over the colonial question, Frenchmen nevertheless did not lose their heads and indulge in exaggerated caricatures of their enemies. We remarked in FAVART's skit,¹²⁴ *Le Mariage par Escalade* (1756), that Frenchmen as well as their northern neighbors come in for a huge share of sarcasm. In the *Avertissement* to his comic opera, FAVART justifies his fair treatment, as if it needed defence:

Quelques critiques ont trouvé que l'on ne ménageoit pas assez les Anglois, que nous ne devons point rendre injure pour injure, ni imiter l'indécence des spectacles de Londres à notre égard; ce sentiment fait honneur à notre nation; mais une délicatesse trop scrupuleuse auroit empêché de

¹²⁴ See page 164.

faire parler les personnages selon leur caractère. D'ailleurs quelques traits lâchés par le zèle du patriotisme, ne sauroient offenser une nation qui seroit respectée et chérie des François même, sans l'esprit de vertige qui la conduit dans la circonstance présente.

It seems almost incredible in our present war-ridden year that FAVART should have felt it necessary to defend his presentation of a play in which English character was certainly not offensively treated. The author asserts that he has tried to draw his English captain as true to life as he could. The resulting picture does not seem unfair.¹²⁴

Another essential difference is brought out in our dramatic study, and this one enters rather deeply into the psychology of the two nations. It is exemplified best by VOLTAIRE'S procedure in his adaptation of an English play to French audiences. In his *La Prude* (1747), he has imitated WYCHERLY'S *Plain Dealer*. In the introduction VOLTAIRE mentions some of the differences he has had to adjust. The English, he says, take too many liberties in their comedies, the French too few. In an English play, words of the filthiest kind will take their place together with wonderful passages of description, beauty, wit. Apparently English audiences are very different from the French, he concludes; for with the French, at least outward delicacy of treatment is necessary. The play may be immoral to the core, but its vice must be painted and scented. For the English, this precaution is not at all needed.

This helps us to understand why LA HARPE in his *Barneveldt* (Drame imité de l'anglais, 1778), sup-

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

presses such a stage property as a gallows; why, too, he eliminates a free-love relationship of a rather frank kind; why DESTOUCHES in his *Le Tambour Nocturne* (1736), an adaptation of ADDISON'S *Drummer*, omits soldiers' oaths and brawls. MADAME DE F . . . in her *Le Rival par Amitié* (1784) includes in a splendid tirade uttered by a French valet practically all the essential dramatic qualities of the English which their southern admirers could not bear (sc. 5):

Aimes-tu le spectacle? Allons à Drury Lane.
 Là tu verras ce qu'un François condamne,
 Ce que l'on ne voit nulle part;
 Le naturel tout pur, le sublime de l'Art:
 Des bouffons, très plaisans, dans une Tragédie;
 Des fossoyeurs, des ossemens,
 Et des filles de joie avec des revenans.
 Le même naturel règne à la Comédie.
 C'est là qu'on assaisonne une fine saillie
 De morbleu! de god-dem! de tous ces mots piquans
 Qui charment par leur énergie.

This author has uttered the nation's judgment in the eighteenth century concerning English plays. These few words actually sum up the mental attitude of the French toward English crudities, ingenuous situations, outspoken broad humor, and frank stage brutalities.

There was this undeniable advantage in the English dramatic atmosphere — that it made for originality and encouraged liberty. VOLTAIRE constantly deplores the opposite condition in France. The great imitator of the Classicists felt hampered, especially in his comedies, by the custom that

demanded long plays full of talk and devoid of action. In his *L'Ecossoise* (1760), he attempted an innovation by starting his play in what might then have been considered the middle of the action. His heroine, Lindane, is found waiting alone in an inn for her lover, Lord Murray. The fact that her lover's family is inimical to hers serves to complicate the plot. Yet this normal stage situation puzzled our audiences. Their minds worked back and they asked the none too pertinent question, how, if the lovers' families were opposed, could they ever have met and become lovers? Audiences of the time apparently could not assume that an acquaintance between them might have accidentally begun and ripened into passion. This unexplained relationship was taken seriously by many as a defect in the play; and VOLTAIRE, exasperated, wrote to D'ARGENTAL:¹²⁵

Pourquoi avez-vous la cruauté de vouloir que Lindane ennuie le public de la manière dont elle a fait connaissance avec Murray? Ce Murray vient au café; ce coquin de Frélon qui y vient aussi y a bien vu Lindane; pourquoi milord Murray ne l'aurait-il pas vue? Ce sont des petites misères, qu'on appelle en France bienséances, qui font languir la plupart de nos comédies. Voilà pourquoi on ne peut les jouer ni en Italie, ni en Angleterre, où l'on veut beaucoup d'action, beaucoup d'intérêt, beaucoup d'allées et de venues, et point de préliminaires inutiles.

After studying in a little detail the comedies of the century, one is rather prone to agree with VOLTAIRE's complaint. His words recall vividly page after page

¹²⁵ *Correspondance de Voltaire, Œuvres de Voltaire*, éd. Garnier Frères (1880), Vol. 40, p. 461.

of uninteresting dialogue, useless preliminaries, and obvious situations. One is more likely to obtain satisfaction in the reading of three act comedies of the eighteenth century than in those of five acts, and more satisfaction than in either of these is to be found in one-act plays. The brief space the latter afford necessitates a swift action and concise dialogue. One can easily study at first hand the deplorable results obtained in the artificial attempt to cover the length of five or three acts with the meager threads of a one-act plot. For such an experiment we heartily recommend BOISSY'S *L'Impertinent malgré lui*, any of DORAT'S plays, FALBAIRE'S *L'Ecole des Mœurs*, and ROMAGNESI'S *L'Amant Protégé*. These few will probably prove the point. There are many more that could be cited if necessary.

It is interesting finally to note that in none of our plays have we found definite instructions outlined by our authors regarding the costume of their characters. We might interpret this as an indication of the simplicity and ordinary taste displayed in their garb by Englishmen. In reality, Paris was then the sartorial dictator of Europe; and Englishmen, as well as others, willingly submitted to the unwritten law of the Goddess of Fashion, as it emanated from her abode. English ways of dress, especially in upper circles, were therefore not peculiar or foreign, and our authors do not make special notes concerning them.

There is also a conspicuous lack of scenic description, conspicuous because we find copious details in plays in other foreign lands, especially in Turkey and the Orient. The most pretentious effort at scenic

effect is to be found in FALBAIRE'S *Le Fabricant de Londres* (1771), in the last act. The author's direction reads:

Le théâtre représente une place, des maisons de chaque côté & dans le fond, La Tamise avec le pont de Westminster. Il y a plusieurs escaliers pour monter sur le trottoir du pont, qui est garni d'un parapet.

This is indeed an ambitious bit of scenery, even for a Belasco or a Barker. It seems simple to account for the general lack of detailed description in the other plays merely by the fact that almost always the action takes place in an interior. The movement for specific indications regarding interiors is of very recent prominence.

X — CONCLUSION

As we think of terms adequate to express our general thought of the French and English during the eighteenth century as we have found them in our plays, it seems most fitting to use the words of JEAN FINOT, words which guided us in the beginning of our work: ¹²⁶

Tear from French history the pages written under English influence and a much shrunken France will result; try in your thoughts to exclude France from the history of English civilization and all Anglo-Saxon greatness will disappear in the mists.

Or, to take the same idea from a French play given in 1784,¹²⁷ wherein an Englishman tries to answer gallantly to a French toast to England:

¹²⁶ New York Times, February 7, 1915.

¹²⁷ MADAME DE F. . ., *Le Rival par Amitié* (1784), Scene 16.

Le François nous égale en générosité.

Estimez vos rivaux, mais sans vous méconnoître.¹²⁸

François! nous vous devons peut-être,

Ce caractère si vanté;

Et nous serions moins grands, si vous cessiez de l'être.

¹²⁸ Addressed to Anglomaniacs.

THE MINOR NATIONS

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I — THE SWISS

1. *Switzerland*

IT was ROUSSEAU who said, speaking about the people of his native land, that the Swiss were drinkers of wine and milk, that they were naturally reserved, peaceful, and simple, but violent when roused to anger. The characters we meet in our plays do not fully bear out the philosopher of nature in his wise estimate. Certainly during the eighteenth century Switzerland appeared a safe little country, enviably free from rival aristocracies, and splendidly isolated by its lofty snow-covered guardians from the turmoil of breathless Europe. Her independence had been guaranteed to her by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and thereafter she enjoys a long period of leisure, given over to the development of industry and to the organization of her federated states. Now and then, as in 1712, we hear the threatening rumble of religious disputes, but presently the Protestants of Bern and Zurich and other cities emerge into the sunlight of God's favor formerly enjoyed exclusively by Catholics.

The development of cities is the predominant factor in the growth of Switzerland during this century. As religious liberty was gradually established for each town, the form of government was also left

to the various municipalities. In general the movement toward progress involved a centralization of power, so that a kind of governing aristocracy developed. In Bern, out of 360 families, 69 formed a ruling oligarchy. Yet even this extent of popular control must have seemed amazing to the monarchies of Europe.

It is to be expected then that our plays will reveal a certain respect for the tiny nation that had wrought its freedom into a reality. We find this; and besides, a friendly familiarity with the Swiss, easily explained by the intimacy of long standing between the two nations. Historically, the French had come to know the Swiss as wonderfully dependable allies. It is estimated that between 1747 and 1830 a million soldiers left their Alpine homes to serve France. These famous contingents did not serve as mercenaries, for pay, until the nineteenth century. It is true that the Swiss lent their military forces also to Austria, Spain, Holland, England, Russia, Bavaria, and the Italian cities. But in France the establishment of regiments like the "Cent Suisses," the king's bodyguard, which lasted for three centuries, must have brought the Swiss nearer to the hearts of the people. The general use of the individuals of that nation as janitors, doorkeepers, and servants also promoted a wider acquaintance, though, in the last mentioned relationship, the Swiss appear in our plays in horrible caricatures of tipplers and brawlers.

Intellectually, the relationship between France and Switzerland can be drawn even closer. Rousseau, the greatest educational influence of the century, was

a Genevan by birth and a Frenchman in every other way. The little republic afforded a convenient refuge for French men of letters whose pronouncements were likely to endanger their liberty. Besides, in addition to the German literary school headed by BODMER and BREITINGER, there was a very influential group of writers and thinkers who lived in Catholic Switzerland, and naturally fell under the sway of visiting Frenchmen or of the great literary circles they represented. Thus we come to hear of the Franco-Swiss scholars, RUCHAT the historian, BOCHAT the antiquarian, BURLAMAQUI the jurist, and CROUSAZ the Cartesian philosopher. As the century progresses the intellectual intimacy of the thinkers of both nations increases. JACQUES NECKER and his famous daughter MME. DE STAËL, BENJAMIN CONSTANT, BOURGUET and his brother geologists SAUSSURE and LUC, are only a few of the names that link the two countries indissolubly together.

In this day of guide books for the infinitesimal corners of the globe, it is interesting to note that as early as 1714 the Swiss nation had already found its lasting vocation as a sight-seeing and sporting center. In that year a guide book called *Les Délices de la Suisse* was issued by ABRAHAM RUCHAT, and was in constant demand, as the many editions of it till 1778 show. Travel into Switzerland by way of Geneva was common, and communication with a country a great part of which spoke French seemed normal to the Gallic traveling public.

2. *Swiss Characters*

BOISSY, in his allegory *La Frivolité* (1753), attempts to prove the advantages of the carefree life of the French over any other kind of life. To help him in his worthy project, he introduces an Englishwoman and a Swiss, both sufferers from depression, both seeking in Paris the restoration of happiness. The Swiss, M. Fauster, is a scholar who has given up the study of books, as his famous forerunner of the sixteenth century had done before him, because they prevented him from obtaining a true knowledge of life. His attitude is characterized by common sense and calm thinking. He is called upon to decide a dispute in the following terms (sc. 4):

Pour être juge en notre cause,
Monsieur est d'une nation
Qui, toujours neutre, agit sans passion.

Fauster is joyously impressed by the pleasures of Paris, and he finally comes to feel that he has found here the true way of life, unlike the Englishwoman who absolutely refuses to yield to the warming pulse of the wonderful city. Fauster easily seizes upon the difference between his nation and hers when he utters the significant words (sc. 4):

La raison est Angloise, & le bon sens est Suisse.

This subtle distinction seems to emphasize the English as theoretical, the Swiss as practical thinkers. The fact that the Swiss and the English are at all compared mentally reflects great credit on the former when we remind ourselves of the profound ad-

miration awakened in France for the philosophers across the Channel.

M. Fauster is so charmed, then, by French ways and manners, that he embraces them for the rest of his life, we are to conclude. We find another Swiss, who in his peculiar perverted language also professes great admiration, this time for the French king, Louis XV. This foreigner utters the following astounding statement to a Frenchman:¹

L'amour que chafre pour ton maître,
M'afair rendu de ses sujets:
Tout l'Etranchir qui le connoître
Afoir t'apord le cœur François.

The occasion of this skit by FAVART was the king's recovery from illness, when the whole nation breathed its fervent thanks in his behalf. It was natural, at such a time, for the most circumstantial poet of the stage to exceed the ordinary limits of credibility. Why be surprised at this sudden allegiance of a Swiss to the French king, when in the same play we receive the solemn assurance from a Flemish couple that their one fervent hope is that they may have a son who will look like Louis and a daughter that will look like the queen? A touching instance of the attachment of a Swiss to a Frenchman is vividly pictured by JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU himself in his *Les Prisonniers de Guerre*, which has its scene in Hungary. Dorante, a French officer, is a prisoner there, and Jacquard, his Swiss servant, who has been given his liberty, chooses to stay by his side and lighten the burden of his master's captivity. His awkward de-

¹ FAVART, *Le Bal de Strasbourg* (1744), Scene 6.

votion is very touching and we must admit that he understands his master. In his desperate efforts to amuse him, he offers the following homely advice (sc. 1):

Moi point souffrir que fous s'afflicher touchours, touchours;
fous poire comme moi, fous consolir tout l'apord.

To an audience familiar with the figure of the Swiss drinker on the stage, Jacquard's method of comforting his French master must have been sufficient evidence of his love and allegiance.

We are not allowed to forget the fact that the Swiss were widely employed in France not only as body servants but also as janitors. Whenever a dramatist wants to introduce into his play a comic element which is to touch all his characters, he has of course the inexhaustible *Arlequin*; but wearying of him, he is likely to choose *un Suisse*. *PIRON* in his semi-serious allegory, *Crédit est Mort* (1726), has a doorman who jealously guards the entrance to the "Hôtel de Crédit." A woman named Faithless² appears and tries to get in. He asks in his jargon (sc. 4):

Que vouloir au logis sti femme?

And when she struggles to get in, he assures her:

Ton criment ne rien faire à moi.

But the moment she offers him money, he graciously yields. He says as he accepts it: "Grosse Dank, Yonfrau," and then gravely announces his guiding policy:

² Madame la Mauvaise Foi.

Moi liêtre à toi pour de l'argent,
Toi fusse-t-il le Diable.

Let us add here that the universality of the Swiss as doorkeeper finally brings him into the dignified company of the ancients. In PIRON's puppet-play, *Columbine-Nitétis* (1722), we find him serving in this official capacity to Psammenite, king of Memphis in Egypt. Here too he speaks his lusty jargon with great relish, so that he is not to be confounded at all with the Egyptian folk about him. He is all the time his hearty, roseate self. He is, as the Swiss in another play³ fondly calls Arlequin, a "lustick lansman."

We have by this time seen the joyous inhabitant of the Alps in several guises more or less inferior. We find him, however, predominantly in a rather unmentionable state, too drunk, alas! to utter much of value to our study. In LESAGE's puppet-play, *Le Rémouleur d'Amour* (1722), he drinks heavily and appears vicious and slothful. He falls comically on the stage when he attempts to walk. He complains bitterly about his misfortune in love. He dotes on a pretty *cabaretière*, or bar-girl, who is not at all inclined towards him. As he makes a final lunge to the ground in his sodden suffering, Pierrot picks him up and says sympathetically (sc. 12):

Allons mon grand baril, vous avez besoin de repos; je vais vous mener faire schloff dans un de ces bosquets de myrtes.

The predilection of the Swiss lover for a bar-maid seems to be a general and curious phenomenon of Alpine love as presented in our plays. LESAGE

³ *Le Temple de la Vérité*, by ROMAGNESI (1726).

shows us another lamentable instance ⁴ of this affection, when his Swiss mutters tearfully (sc. 9):

Ch'aime monmoiselle Catin.
Chavre là-dedans ein cœur.

Now the lady mentioned is spirituously occupied, and hence the irrepressible Arlequin analyzes this passion mockingly:

Cet honnête suisse croit aimer la maîtresse du cabaret et il n'en aime que les tonneaux.

Barrels as the basis of Swiss love offers an interesting reflection, though we must not for a moment grant the universality of such a liquefied condition of affection.

CARMONTELLE reveals to us that even the higher strata of Swiss society are addicted to the fatal habit of drink. In one of his proverbs ⁵ we meet the Baron de Trottemberg, a Swiss captain. He is a pretty vile kind of soldier. Falling ill, he calls for the doctor. The latter orders him at once to drink hot stuff and to have a guard. The captain naturally misunderstands these ambiguous prescriptions; he gulps down wine instead of broth, and has four sentinels to join him instead of a nurse to tuck him in. "Tiaple," he exclaims, rapidly improving, "Gott, Gott, puvons," and his nurses are nothing loath.

Besides these exhilarating accomplishments, we discover in the Swiss, perhaps as a concomitant of intoxication, a certain swaggering fearlessness that might well intimidate his more sober fellows. In

⁴ *Les Amours Déguisés* (1726).

⁵ Proverbe V, *Le Suisse Malade*.

one play⁶ we find the usual anonymous *Suisse* applying for a position as an actor. He cites modestly his various histrionic powers (sc. 4):

Che li être un fort excellement Cométien, & encore en plus meilleur Poëte, en fort bon Orateur; che faire faire tes harangues, chavre fait des Poëmes étiques, & encore en Tragédie.

When his application is not received with enthusiasm, he waxes wroth and exclaims thunderously:

Tastitertonder! Moi point te respect pour personne, je suis en Suisse, j'avre du cœur comme un tiable, & moi vouloir entrer tans votre troupe par force.

The foregoing utterer of thunder brings us to the end of our little gallery of anonymous Swiss characters. The merest examination of the peculiar French they speak is convincing evidence that they are not the French Swiss. Not only is their dialogue tinged with German mispronunciation, but their stage habits and manners become intimately associated with similar ways of acting which we have found to be characteristic of German figures. It is interesting to note this fact, as it demonstrates a rather true perception of the numerical predominance of the Teutonic element in the population of Switzerland. The few characters we have found are so uniform in their manner of presentation, that we may be allowed to assert definitely that the Swiss has actually become, in the eighteenth century, a conventional stage tippler and brawler. This fact is not to

⁶ *Les Débuts*, DOMINIQUE et ROMAGNESI (1729), Vol. 7, *Théâtre Italien*.

be interpreted as indicative of the general attitude of our writers towards the inhabitants of the little republic. It simply means that the Swiss janitor or vagrant, the only Swiss figures familiar to the French, had come in the course of dramatic development to be the clown, the rough blatant swaggerer. He was just a stage type, like the Jewish pedlar of diamonds, whom we also meet quite frequently. The Swiss clown provided the broad slap-stick humor, and filled the house with mirth at his obscene jests and drunken antics. The one dignified exception to this ungenerous classification is M. Fauster,⁷ and his perfect language proves him to be a citizen of West Switzerland.

II — THE NETHERLANDERS

1. *Holland and Flanders*

There are very few presentations on the French stage of Flemish or Dutch figures. The relationship between France and the Netherlands during the eighteenth century was in the main amicable, and curiosity about these northern provinces does not seem to have been great enough to cause their frequent mention in our plays. At the beginning of the century Holland did indeed figure prominently for a time as an ally of England against France. Belgium, too, is an Austrian possession till the Revolutionary era, and therefore a country somewhat inimically conceived. The War of the Austrian Succession brings a victorious French army under the

⁷ See page 254.

Maréchal de Saxe into Belgium and Holland. His successes loom up importantly in our dramatic field because he was accompanied for four years (1746-1750) by CHARLES SIMON FAVART, who directed in Flanders the army's troupe of players. We naturally find in this period of FAVART's activity, reflections of his environment and experience. After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), however, nothing momentous occurs to disturb the steadfast political friendship of France and the Netherlands. Belgium remains an Austrian province till 1790, when its fight for independence was outlined in the University of Louvain. Both the Dutch and the Belgians cultivated a literary imitation of French writers and produced epics and odes and elegies. In Brussels, too, the Academy founded by Maria Theresa was inspired by French scientific progress. Among the unassuming names of the period, we may mention FEITAMA, who translated VOLTAIRE'S *Henriade*, and the prince of LIGNE, of whom MADAME DE STAËL said: "le seul étranger, qui dans le genre français, soit devenu modèle au lieu d'être imitateur."

With these few introductory remarks, we have probably indicated that our search for foreigners from the Lowlands has not resulted in any illuminating discoveries. Such as they are, we present them.

2. *Characters from the Netherlands*

Let us begin by citing as an example of the close artistic connection between Belgium and France, the adventures of two female babes just born to an actress of the Opera at Brussels. The sister Fates

are outlining their career,⁸ and they bountifully bestow upon the one girl the gift of thrilling song, and upon the other that of magic dance. The sisters are eventually to come to Paris, where their great talent is to be recognized and rewarded, and whence they will return to their native land laden with treasure. This reference to bounteous Parisian rewards awaiting the genius of other lands is but another recognition, added to a long list, of the fact that Paris was a magnet that drew towards it the peoples of the known world. Who will deny to-day its invisible magnetic potency, and who that has once yielded to this mysterious force, has not experienced, with greater longing, the hope of return?

Our two talented sisters are to have their adventures in Paris. In this they are an exception to all the other lowland characters we meet, for we find them mainly in their native haunts. We travel thus in goodly company through Spa, and here and there in Flanders, and past nameless cities in Holland. In Spa we are introduced to an extremely poor family, a phenomenon very common in that city:⁹

On ne peut faire un pas ici sans rencontrer des malheureux!
 . . . cela serre le cœur.

These sympathetic words are uttered by an English lady who is full of kindness and who has consequently commissioned a priest, Father Antoine, to seek out the poorest and withal the most virtuous family in Spa, so that miladi may present fifty pieces of gold to it. The Anglebert family happens to meet

⁸ LESAGE, *Une Journée des Parques*.

⁹ GENLIS, *L'Aveugle de Spa*, Scene 2.

these conditions because it is abjectly poor, and because the mother, who has to work for five mouths, has added to her burden by adopting a blind and deserted creature to whose misery her heart went out. One might well term this motherly kindness and feel in full measure the human glory it sheds upon the city of Spa. Unfortunately, however, the play in question was written for the non-dramatic purpose of educating, and consequently it could not reach many auditors. The work is marred by its gushing sentimentality; it has for its avowed purpose to reveal the rewards of kindness and the pleasures of giving. Naturally, then, all the characters form a company of unrelieved goodness. Even the loquacious Capuchin, who admits frankly (sc. 3):

Je n'ai jamais su rien dire en deux mots.

is a lovable figure, of whom the English lady says (sc. 3):

Soulager les pauvres et cultiver des fleurs, voilà son bonheur et ses plaisirs.

Let us turn from this play, with its milky kindness, to one that has its scene in Flanders and that wears a more energetic aspect. FAVART thus describes the setting of his comic opera or, as he calls it, "divertissement Flamand":¹⁰

Le théâtre représente un hameau Flamand. On voit dans l'éloignement une ville dont les Remparts sont détruits par le Canon; de l'autre côté un Camp, à la tête duquel est une batterie de Canon. Milieu de la Scène, occupé par plusieurs Flamands, dont les uns jouent de divers instruments

¹⁰ *L'Ecole des Amours Grivois* (1744).

sous un grand arbre, pendant que les autres, autour de plusieurs tables, boivent, fument, jouent et dansent.

We are thus ushered into a war-swept district; but instead of a desolateness greeting our eyes, a care-free populace turns out and celebrates merrily. When we inquire further, we discover that the reason for their joy is that the French have driven the Austrians off; for the Flemish naturally prefer to be under the rule of the French king. They assure us:¹¹

C'étoit malgré tous nos Bourgeois
Qu'on lui faisoit résistance;
Chacun lui erioit sur les toits,
Y avance, y avance, y avance.

Naturally, French soldiers respond in good part:

Chantons avec ces bons Flamans,
Qui sont joyeux d'être à la France

And the populace, not to be outdone, cites the main reason for its preference for French rule:

La bierre nous rendoit sournois,
Du vin j'ignorions l'usage;
Il nous fait boire du pivois.¹²
Morgué, quelle différence!
Soyons à jamais sous les loix
De ce bon roi de France.

We are quite struck by the ease of this transfer of allegiance, in spite of the basic reasons assigned for it. But our astonishment at the thoroughness of this conversion increases when we learn that a

¹¹ Ballet at the end of the play.

¹² Refers to French king. *Pivois* is argot for wine.

Flemish couple have the fervent hope that their children may look like the royal pair of France. Naturally, too, we might expect, as an inevitable accompaniment of the presence of French soldiers on foreign soil, a widespread desertion of their native swains by the fair sex. In FAVART'S play, *Isabelle*, "demoiselle Flamande," typifies this natural reaction. She heartlessly leaves Léandre for the company of a grenadier, but has the presence of mind not to yield entirely to his wishes. Her conduct makes him complain (sc. 5):

Depuis quatre jours environ,
Je vous assiège tout de bon.
Quoi! les filles de ce Canton
Sont donc plus difficiles
A prendre que les villes?

A very honorable reflection on Flemish girls, and probably very true.

We meet, on the other hand, in CARMONTELLE'S *Le Prisonnier*, a picture of rather vicious life in a Flemish citadel. The commander is a vulgar fellow who loudly swears faith to his wife and quietly cajoles other women. His wife uses many endearing terms in addressing her husband, but has an equally plentiful supply for her numerous lovers. And then there is a major, who is indefatigably loquacious, and who is dutifully loyal to the commander and amorously devoted to his wife. We need not go into further detail regarding these manifold interrelations, but may frankly admit that in visiting this fortress we have stumbled upon a pretty vicious company.

We do not meet any more desirable characters

in a nameless Dutch city, in which PIRON lays the scene of *Le Claperman*. In the Prologue to the play, the shade of Apollo informs us that in order to keep lovers faithful he has planned to let each Dutch town have its Claperman, who by his drum and shout is to awaken all wives early in order that they may see whether their husbands are asleep at their sides. In this particular town, Arlequin obligingly accepts the strenuous task of Claperman. The presence of this dangerous element arouses all husbands, for they claim (II, 4):

. . . pour notre repos, nous avons besoin du sommeil de nos femmes.

Poor Arlequin has no easy time of it. First, a few women give him money to make sure that he will beat his drum at the proper time, for they are justly curious about their husbands. Then another group of anxious wives pay him in order to enable him to forget to beat his drum. Arlequin has already accepted a considerable money opiate from the worried men. He therefore takes right and left whatever he can get, and then proceeds to earn his city-wage by performing his duty and beating his drum. The result is most unfortunate. Poor Scaramouche, for example, who happened to be with the wife of his employer, the notary, has to flee; but, unable to make for the door, he steps out of a two story window and sprains his legs. On all hands there are mutual discoveries of an embarrassing nature, and it is presumably their mutuality that finally solves the situation.

In the meantime, on the country-road at three

o'clock in the morning, farmers and their wives are on their way to the town-market and, as they tramp on, they lustily sing (II, 2):

Thomas fait l'amour chez Lucas;
 Lucas fait l'amour chez Thomas;
 Blaise aime la femme à Colas;
 Colas, la femme à Blaise.

Indecency and vulgarity seem to be commonly attributed to Dutch folk, in the town as well as in the country.

It remains for FAVART in his truly witty *Le Prix de Cythère* (1742), to penetrate psychologically into the nature of Dutch love. A Dutch pair appear on the island of Cythera to claim the prize Amour has offered for the truest love. They contend that their brand is the best because it is sensible and unromantic. The man says to Hebe (sc. 2):

Nous n'entendre rien à tous les jolis petits
 sottises des Amoureux des autres nations.
 Nous commencer d'abord par l'Epouse-
 ment et nous faire après connoissance.

Hébé. C'est-à-dire que votre amour commence où
 finit celui des autres.

Le Hollandois. Sans doute. Moi, par exemple, avoir épousé
 mon femme par lettre de change.

He then goes on to tell how she came along as an item in a consignment of merchandise. She is young, strong, and rich. So he takes her because, as he says, in Holland "l'amour est une affaire d'intérêt"; and she takes him because, as she says, marriage is the builder of the republic. They have many

children and seem to be happy in their way. But Hebe criticizes it, and makes suggestions for reforms:

Une convenance dans les cœurs plutôt que dans les biens;
une sympathie étroite et tous ces petits soins que vous
méprisez et sans lesquels l'amour ne subsiste point.

With this brief exposé of the Dutch system of marriage, our description of the way of stage characters from the Netherlands draws to a close.¹³ By the paucity and haphazard nature of the material, we have probably indicated a lack of interest in these characters on the part of French audiences. As proof of this we offer the fact that there are even no traces of preconceived types of Belgian or Dutch people, only two general notions — one concerning their vulgar immorality and the other the common sense basis of their marriages. Such a dramatic condition, we have previously found, indicates a lack of true relationship based on equality. In the case of the Netherlands, we can unhesitatingly affirm this fact.

III — EASTERN EUROPEANS

1. *The Nations to the East of France*

Politically, the relations in the eighteenth century between France and such countries as Poland, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, and Russia, form a

¹³ In SEDAINE's *Le Philosophe sans le Savoir* (1765), we meet M Vanderk, "père et fils." While the names are Dutch, plot and character are decidedly French. We may conclude that SEDAINE intended the name to disguise more effectually a French family. A glance at an encyclopedia will reveal names like Vandame, a French general, Vanderburgh, a French writer, and others.

most interesting chapter; interesting, but not because the annals are crowded with events. The eyes of continental Europe were now turned westward, and focused no longer toward the far east of the crusades or the nearer Orient of the Turks. The leaders in the great nations of Europe had come to realize that expansion in Europe and America was to be the decisive factor in the rating of world powers. Interest is therefore greatly detracted from the inferior though rapidly developing stretches of Russia, or the loosely-bound kingdoms that adhered to Austria. England occupies the mind of France, France the mind of England. It is not surprising then that there is little space in our plays for minor nationalities, especially those that have had slight relationship in the past with France.

There is another interesting reason why Russian, Hungarian, or Bohemian characters occupy so little room in our spacious foreign gallery. It is to be found in the psychological attitude towards the various countries which lay so distantly eastward, and which, because of their occupation with Oriental conquest, had themselves assumed an Oriental aspect. In Hungary, for example, we find a country which during the seventeenth century had, because of civil and foreign wars, pestilence, and famine, lost all but a paltry three millions of her population. No matter how vast the stretch of territory, mere land does not make a nation. Hence Hungary appears insignificantly concerned in European affairs. Besides, her main efforts were directed against the encroachments of the Turks, and even these her people could not repel unaided, as the disasters of 1739 prove.

Were it not for the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, which attached the land of the Magyars definitely to the fortunes of the Hapsburgs, one might well consider that race beyond the continental pale. Then, in 1740, begins the rule of Maria Theresa, an enlightened Austrian despot with progressive ideas on educational reform. She did a tremendous work toward the consolidation of these lingually separate dependencies. She made Vienna a real capital; and the work of Germanization was too well advanced at the time of her death in 1780, for even her son, with his violent methods, to disrupt it absolutely. Yet this process of centralizing power at Vienna was a very slow one, and could not bring the French into much immediate contact with a totally foreign people, whose poets still chose the Magyar language instead of German for their lyrical expression.

What is true for Hungary, is naturally true also for Silesia, Bohemia, Croatia, Transylvania, and, to a large extent, even for Austria herself. The latter had come into possession in 1714 of widely scattered European lands, such as the West Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Sardinia. Though some of these were maintained as Austrian for the whole century and longer, they do not seem, according to our trustworthy dramatic testimony, to have brought their owner into any immediate and vivid contact with western Europe, the sharp contact that is caused by class and struggle. In 1714, Austria had definitely renounced the coveted crown of Spain. The next step eastward was taken when in 1741 she lost Silesia and part of Bohemia and Moravia, through the predatory instincts of her Prussian neighbor.

Thereafter, in spite of a friendship with France which culminated in the marriage of the archduchess Marie Antoinette to the king of France in 1770, Austria sinks into a relatively non-important position, that of indifferent ally, before the growing menace of the grasping Frederick of Prussia.

In what we have said, we do not seek to give the impression that Austria had lapsed entirely from her world position. She was an ally whose favor was always coveted, a land that had added immense possessions to her eastern and northern borders. It is rather in the examination of Austrian character that we find the clue to the dramatic lack of interest concerning it. Even to-day, we search in vain amidst national types for the one we can label Austrian. There seems to be in our minds little that distinguishes or characterizes the members of that nation. This lack in the popular conception may be due to the diversity of races that the name Austrian covers, — Slovak, Pole, Russian, Croatian, Servian, Bulgarian, beside German. These considerations make it easier to understand why, in our plays, we have so few Austrian and Hungarian characters in comparison with the number obtained from our studies in comedies with other foreigners. Austrians and their multiple dependent nationalities are, so to speak, lost before the greater curiosity on the part of our dramatists to know the threatening Prussians on one side, and the resplendent Orientals on the other. Indeed, we shall see how these Slavic nations appear as semi-Orientals in their abstraction from the European present, though they are dramatically far outshone by the magic

splendor of Turkish and Asiatic sultans and their harems.

Poland in the eighteenth century is a pathetic example of a great country, weakened in its age, and snapped up by the hungry wolves about it. The current of her history in this unfortunate period touched that of France intimately but for a short time. Charles XII of Sweden, who had helped maintain Stanislaus Leszczynski on the Polish throne for four years (1705-1709), found himself unable to protect his royal puppet against the candidate favored by the Russians, Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who ruled till 1733. The exiled Stanislaus became in 1725 the father-in-law of the French king, Louis XV. This naturally enlisted French support for his claim to the Polish throne, and in 1733 he was recalled by certain factions inimical to Russia. France, however, afforded him little material help, and in 1735, defeated by Austro-Russian forces, Leszczynski abdicated the throne, though not the title. The landless king then went to live in Lorraine as its ruler, a pathetic director of the destinies of a miniature principality which was to revert to France at his death. In all this historical relationship between France and Poland, the connection surely seems personal, limited to Stanislaus and the French royal family. The masses of the people were not stimulated to curiosity regarding the Poles, and we find absolutely no dramatic reflection of these events. Poland, then, is to be classed for our purposes with these other semi-Oriental dependencies of Austria. Reasons for this dramatic insignificance increased when, in 1772, the first unholy division

occurred. Within twenty-five years, the Poles had ceased to exist as a nation.

As the last of these eastern countries, non-important for our dramatic purposes, we must mention Russia. It would seem as if the tradition of Peter the Great, and his distinctive royal conduct, would have stamped itself indelibly on the minds of the century and made Russia loom up as an interesting land. Yet, though one man may make history, no man can make a nation. It is true that Peter, by his strenuous efforts, had started Russia in her path toward Western civilization. He himself had traveled to Königsberg, Berlin, the Hague, London; and in 1717 he had visited France, taking back with him a foreign host of engineers and army-makers. He increased Russian territory by his annexation of Baltic provinces filched from the Swedes. Perhaps he was prepared to interfere in continental squabbles when the chance came. But he died suddenly in 1725, and for thirty-seven years afterward Russia remains a land torn by rival factions, with sovereigns following one another in rapid succession, with anarchy in its government and disaffection among its people. Then, in 1762, the quieting, tolerant hand of Catherine assumed control. Under her, there was restored a semblance of order, and she even succeeded in extending the borders of Russia, with the interested connivance of two other royal malefactors, the king of Prussia and the queen of Austria. Under Catherine, French influence in her land grew rapidly, yet not enough to offset the dramatic indifference of our panderers to the public. As *La Grande Encyclopédie* puts it: ¹⁴

¹⁴ Tome 28, Article "Russie."

En somme, la Russie du 18^{me} siècle présente à l'Europe à peu près le même spectacle que la Turquie.

And, of these two, Turkey was to our audiences more alluring with all her Oriental trappings, consisting of amorous sultans, mischievous cadis, and mysterious ladies of the harems.

A rapid glance over the political interminglings of France and the nations of the east will reveal the fact that, generally, the policy of France is either indifferent, or actively counter to that pursued by the others. Poland is a good example of these contrary currents of policy. This fact, taken with what we have tried to indicate as the historical insignificance for the French of these various lands on the east,¹⁵ may serve to explain a little the noticeable lack of interest that we are about to trace in the few characters we have culled from those nations.

2. *Characters from the Nations to the East of France*

In 1776 the count of Provence, brother to Louis XVI, gave his sister-in-law, Marie Antoinette, a glorious reception. To mark the occasion, VOLTAIRE was asked to write a *divertissement*, a request with which he gallantly complied. He got his ideas from a playlet given in Vienna sixty years before. It consisted of a series of songs and lines, bound together in a very artificial way. VOLTAIRE thus describes it:¹⁶

¹⁵ With the exception of Austria, of course, in whose case we have tried to suggest another explanation.

¹⁶ In his letter to M. de Cromot, Sept. 20, 1776. Cf. *Correspondance*, Vol. 18, No. 9847. Ed. Garnier Frères.

Il y a une fête fort célèbre à Vienne qui est celle de *l'Hôte et de l'Hôtesse*: l'empereur est l'hôte et l'impératrice est l'hôtesse: Ils reçoivent tous les voyageurs qui viennent souper et coucher chez eux et donnent un bon repas à table d'hôte. Tous les voyageurs sont habillés à l'ancien mode du pays; chacun fait de son mieux pour cajoler respectueusement son hôtesse; après quoi, tous dansent ensemble.

The choice of this Viennese playlet is easily understood when we remember that VOLTAIRE, wise old man, was trying to please Marie Antoinette, who had been born in Vienna. Yet the *divertissement* is evidently the work of a man whose dramatic instinct had weakened considerably. His travelers are truly exotic,—Laplanders, Chinese, Tartars; and instead of witty lines, they are made to utter queer grunts which are supposed to represent the sounds of their native tongues. An odd fête it must have seemed to those who were present, an Austrian celebration without a single Austrian in it.

Yet, in this foreign festival, it is important to notice that the foreigners introduced are in the main from the East; we are entertained by a medley of Chinese, Japanese, Turks, and Tartars. When an author is quite ignorant of the life and customs of a far-away country, it is natural for him to associate with it the characteristics of near-by people, better known. It therefore becomes a sort of habit to confound semi-Eastern nations with the lands that lie in that direction. The height of this bewilderment is illustrated in a play¹⁷ by JEAN BAPTISTE ROUSSEAU. In one scene there arises in a motley gathering of poets, philosophers, and drunkards, a

¹⁷ *Le Caffé* (1695).

discussion on a war with Hungary. Suddenly some one asks the embarrassing question, where is Hungary? Our ignoramuses try to place it everywhere. We find it in Constantinople, in Belgrade, and in Babylon. Finally we learn that it is ruled by a grand vizier. This humorous exaggeration certainly contains some basis of fact. It indicates at least an unacquaintance, a strangeness, an uncanny distance in relation and understanding. Such merry jests often reveal a lack of knowledge.

As a confession of remoteness from or lack of instruction regarding Hungary, LESAGE's *Sophie et Sigismond* (1732) is a masterpiece. No amount of wilful blundering could bring about the absurd effects we find in this play. Even if LESAGE knew better, in order to portray Hungarian life as he does, he must have relied largely upon the consent granted by general ignorance to his perversion, and not altogether upon the accepted exaggerative comic mold into which all plays given at the *Foires*, or *Fairs*, had to be poured. In this play we meet Sigismond, prince of Hungary, who has fallen in love with Sophie, daughter of Frédéric, one of his father's subjects. The king, for political reasons, has already arranged a marriage for his son with the princess of Bohemia, who is to arrive momentarily. To solve his sad difficulty, the prince determines to meet Sophie at midnight in her father's garden, and there, with a few trusty friends as witnesses, marry her. This plan fails because of the unexpected appearance of Frédéric, Sophie's father, in the fateful garden, an event that causes Sigismond to sneak off in a most undignified manner. Frédéric's suspicions

are aroused; and when he questions Diane, Sophie's sister, he concludes because of her embarrassed silence that it is she whom the prince has been courting. As a loyal subject he feels it his duty to report the prince to his sovereign. The latter immediately, as a preventive measure, marries Diane off to one of his lords. In the meantime Sophie, with the aid of the usual stock of abettors, Pierrot, Arlequin, and Frontin, has concocted a scheme to outwit her father. She arrives at the king's court in disguise, with her followers dressed up as Bohemians, and claims to be Ellenore, the Bohemian princess so impatiently awaited. Nobody except the prince penetrates her disguise, and the ruse is about to succeed, when the party of the real princess arrives, heralded by Scaramouche, who yells (sc. 17):

Io son' corriero della principessa Eléonora.

Perhaps his Italian was meant to sound like Bohemian. The princess is, however, not with her party, for the very good reason that she has been kidnapped on her journey by the prince of Russia, in whose company she has apparently willingly changed her course. The king of Hungary thereupon pardons Sophie's imposture and marries her to his son.

The nature of the plot alone might indicate the significant fact that Hungary was still dramatically a land where such improbabilities could occur. But there are, in addition, countless touches in the play, clownish, overdrawn, extravagant, which emphasize this impression still further. The royal family are treated most disrespectfully, Arlequin interrupting even the king with familiar buffooneries. When the

prince asks Arlequin for his opinion concerning the king's probable attitude toward his clandestine marriage with Sophie, the clown replies in his droll way, unabashed by royalty (sc. 14):

Je demeure avec vous d'accord
 Qu'il fera le diable d'abord.
 Comme tout père,
 Dans sa colère,
 Comme tout père,
 Il grondera,
 Piaillera,
 Pestera,
 Jurera,
 Frappera,
 Puis son courroux s'apaisera.

And later, Pierrot has his fling, when as a pretended envoy of the princess of Bohemia, he unblushingly praises her beauty in the minutest detail before the royal assemblage.

Last of all comes the surprising turn, when we learn that the princess has scampered off with her preferred suitor, the prince of Russia. This serious breach of royal good faith does not seem here to entail grave international complications. In fact, our minds easily become adjusted to this different atmosphere of life and conduct, and we cease being surprised at the vagaries of Hungarians or others in these plays. Accordingly, in these semi-Oriental surroundings, what more natural way could there be for arranging marriages than to have, as in the present case, first, the agreement of the royal parents, second, the informing of the bridal parties, and third, the voyage of the princess to her future husband?

Her parents do not go with her, the prince does not fetch her; custom prescribes that she travel to him with her credentials. In these dispositions, we are reminded of the marriages of old that we have met in our historical plays with Spanish characters. There, too, in that mystical atmosphere of the past, royal lovers moved about in the same conventions.

Let us cite one more of the Oriental characteristics that might be said generally to distinguish these plays. This is the element of disguise. We have met it above. We find it again in BOINDIN'S *Le Port de Mer* (1704). In that ridiculous skit, Brigantin, a French sailor, finds it convenient to disguise himself as a woman. His purpose is to pose as a victim of the redoubtable Doutremer, a fierce pirate, who, he says, has made him his thirteenth wife. To cause the story to seem more likely, Brigantin claims he is a woman from Slavonia, in Hungary, where he had lived peacefully as a fortune-teller till the horrid Doutremer interfered and took him, alias her, to a harem in Constantinople. This association of a province in Hungary with this distinctly Oriental plot is perhaps insignificant in itself, yet it adds to the general impression we get that Hungary, as a land of dramatic adventure, has its face turned towards the East rather than towards the West.

In all that we have seen so far of Austrian or Hungarian character, we have been transferred to a remote world of improbability. It would be interesting to find at least one play that attempted to picture the every-day life of ordinary people, and here JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU comes to the rescue. In his *Les Prisonniers de Guerre*, we meet martial

Hungary in its relation to a French prisoner. Dorante, the captive in question, has naturally used the opportunity of his enforced idleness to enthrall the daughter of his guard, a gentleman called Goternitz. The latter, aside from the fact that he has already engaged his daughter to another man, could never consent to her marriage with Dorante, because of his intolerant aversion to Frenchmen, a feeling aroused mainly by rumors of their loose morals. And suddenly his conversion occurs, as we have seen it happen with other anti-Gallicans. Frédéric, his son, an officer in the Hungarian army, who had been captured half-dead by the French and nursed back to health, returns to his land glowing with enthusiasm for his captors. The father is so touched at this noble example of French kindness, that his daughter's insistence finally wins his consent to her marriage with Dorante.

In this story we certainly get a reflection of the war-life of the time, for the Hungarians are pictured as a people distinctly inimical to France. Goternitz and his friend Macker, both honest burghers, have violent prejudices against the French. Goternitz voices his thought very crudely when he says (sc. 10):

Enfin, je tiens que c'est une nation avec laquelle il est mieux de toute façon de n'avoir aucun commerce: trop orgueilleux amis, trop redoutables ennemis, heureux qui n'a rien à démêler avec eux.

Macker too voices his disapproval of Dorante and his ways (sc. 3):

C'est qu'il m'importe à moi que vous appreniez que je ne suis pas d'avis que ma femme vive à la française.

Their antipathy does not seem basic or logical. It plainly has its source in the refined politeness of their enemies, to which they feel rudely superior because they do not understand it. Their prejudice can also be traced to their moral shock at the stories of notorious French conduct. These notions have of course been communicated to the young Sophie, who accordingly distrusts her French lover at first. Says she (sc. 6):

Volages Français! que les femmes sont heureuses que vos infidélités les tiennent en garde contre vos séductions. Si vous étiez aussi constans que vous êtes aimables, quels cœurs vous résisteraient?

She feels, as many girls of other nations have felt, the irresistible appeal of the attractive young Frenchman, and she shows the resulting struggle in her heart between her love and her inbred knowledge of her foreign lover's probable characteristics. These three Hungarians, father and daughter and friend, are finally converted to a genuine liking for the French, a feeling as strong as was their former disfavor. The young *Frédérich*, too, comes home healed and well, and praises his generous enemies prodigiously. Finally, when Sophie is married to *Dorante*, she seems to be inspired to penetration of the meaning of love for the French, as she utters the words at the end of the play:

Tant que je plairai à Dorante, je m'estimerai la plus glorieuse de toutes les femmes.

In this declaration she makes herself a French woman of the eighteenth century in the very essence of her

loye, for she bases her sole glory in her power to please and attract her husband.

From all that has been said, it is evident that in ROUSSEAU's play the intention was not primarily to depict Hungarian character, but rather to show how it reacted in contact with the French. Goternitz and Macker can only be rudely estimated as rough, unrefined men of good feeling. Hungarians, whenever referred to, are spoken of as fighters, and very cruel ones. Dorante says of them (sc. 3):

Quoique la vraie valeur soit inséparable de la générosité, je sais, malgré la cruauté de la vôtre¹⁸ en estimer la bravoure.

Goternitz himself admits that in a comparison with French soldiers, those of his own nation would suffer somewhat (sc. 10):

On ne saurait nier qu'ils¹⁹ se montrent plus humains et plus généreux que nous.

Here we have detached at least one tangible characteristic from these plays on Hungarians. We have learned that to the French mind they figure as fierce and merciless fighters. This tallies with the facts of contemporary history. The Hungarian regiment of the adventurer François de Trenck, had acquired in the middle of the eighteenth century a terrible reputation for its cruelties in Silesia. The term *pandour* was finally applied to these irregular troops composed of Hungarians, Croats, Servians, and Roumanians, all in the service of Austria and all barbarous in their methods of warfare. In FAVART'S

¹⁸ He refers to "nation."

¹⁹ Frenchmen.

L'Ecole des Amours Grivois (1744), we meet a real live pandour, a deserter from the ranks on the fields of Belgium. He is rough, boorish, unkempt, and is continually in search of a lady-love. One of the women attracted conveys to him in his own language that she is quite amenable:²⁰

Ma dier modou moy dobri priteli.

Later she receives the instruction:

(*La Bergère chante des paroles Hongroises*)²⁰

French soldiers are of course here pictured as far superior to these Hungarian boors. The pandour certainly does not shed glory on his nation, when he comes popularly to represent the nature of its military prowess. One does not stop to consider the fact that every army has its pandours; one is so tempted, especially on the stage, to allow certain outstanding traits to represent the mass of a nation's soldiery, indeed the nation itself.

There is nothing of real value to be found in our plays concerning Bohemia; only occasional slight references. We have already met Scaramouche as the ambassador of the princess of Bohemia, and we have witnessed her unaccountable preference for a Russian prince instead of an Hungarian. In SAINT FOIX's *Le Philosophe Dupe de l'Amour* (1726), we are introduced to a very general type of woman, one that we meet in other comedies besides those that draw their characters from the eastern nations of Europe. This is the fortune-teller or the *bohémienne*. As in

²⁰ Scene 4. Some of the words are Hungarian, but the phrase seems to have no sense.

this case, she often has some necromantic name like Urgantia. Her chief abilities lie in the direction of making money, and her predictions are often frank statements of past fact. Generally speaking, the *bohémienne*, not necessarily a woman from Bohemia, is not to be found in plays that have any pretension to plot, for she is most fond of appearing in nonsensical vaudeville acts, called *Divertissements*. In this way she resembles a host of outlandish properties, like dancing savages, Greek and Roman soldiers, Oriental priests, and gambling Catalans, all of whom modestly prefer to appear in prologues or in epilogues. They have no intimate dramatic purpose, of course, but serve to heighten the effects of numbers, and to add to the amusement of the occasion.

In all that has been said so far about Hungarians and allied characters, certainly the most obvious fact gathered is the lack of interest in them revealed by our writers. One of the chief causes for this is ignorance regarding these distant lands, and an attendant lack of curiosity. But we must emphasize the fact that this condition was not individual nor restricted. It was true even of travelers, for they rarely wended their way in the northeasterly direction. Yet we might argue that ignorance could be taken as an opportunity by some enterprising writers with a genius for novelty, to exploit oddities and fancies. This is exactly what happens in the plays with Oriental settings, and also with those that have such queer characters as Roman or Greek deities, or such exotic figures as inhabitants of the Congo, or of the Pacific islands. In the case of the plays with Hungarian or similar types, we

find no such inclination toward the exploitation of fantastic form or plot, except in one play. This occurs in Boissy's *La Vie est un Songe* (1732).

In this *Comédie héroïque* we learn about the king of Poland and his queer antics. When his son is born, he consults an oracle on the babe's career and discovers to his horror that his offspring is to lead a most criminal life. All this sounds quite Greek. Now comes the romantic medieval element. The king, frightened by these dire predictions, imprisons his son in a far-away impregnable castle. There Sigismond grows up under the care of a kind governor, all the while violently rebellious at his undeserved imprisonment. The king, softened in time, journeys to the castle to see his son and to find out, by testing him, whether he is such a bloodthirsty maniac as the oracle had pictured him. To accomplish his purpose, the king administers a sleeping draught, and has the insensible prince transferred to his palace. When Sigismond awakes, his new-born freedom at first intoxicates him and, in the height of his gladness, he instinctively thirsts for revenge on those who had restrained him all his years in a dungeon. His anger consequently bursts forth frequently as he exercises his royal powers. There is only one person at the court who can curb him in his impetuous moments, and that is Sophronie, the king's niece, with whom the unfortunate prince has fallen in love. But alas! The king, disappointed in his son and convinced of the truth of the oracular dictum, has resolved to return Sigismond to his prison. In this highly laudable design he is opposed by Sophronie, who finally resorts to revolu-

tion, for be it understood that the people of Poland share her indignation at the treatment that their prince has received from his father. All ends well when Sophronie easily overcomes the prince's blood-thirsty inclinations and completely changes his nature, so that he now wins the confidence of all by his kindness. The king, too, is touched by his generosity, and obligingly abdicates.

One naturally hesitates to call the play silly, first, because it is written in BOISSY'S facile and stately alexandrine, and, second, because the plot certainly has possibilities, as CALDERON'S *La Vida es Sueño* eloquently testifies, and as GRILLPARZER proves again in his *Der Traum ein Leben*. But even our short description must show its crudities and its improbabilities. It all sounds like an Arabian Night's concoction, and it is very interesting to have it all happen in Poland. In that country, then, we observe a prince shut up in a dungeon for twenty years by his father, on the strength of an oracular assertion. We must also realize that Poland is a land where dreams have significance. No wonder the king is troubled by his queen's dream that a monster would be sent to kill her. What more natural than to believe the boy was the monster, since at his birth his mother died?

The one dominating figure in the play is that of the old king. In his august presence, the wild ravings of Sigismond are attenuated, if not entirely silenced. The king, as is usual with royalty, has a sort of halo about him, so that by this alone he is recognizable to sensitive eyes. The prince, who does not know him yet, says (II, 4):

Je me sens arrêter par son air respectable . . .
Qui donc es-tu! Réponds, ô vieillard vénérable!
De qui l'aspect aussi noble que doux,
A le pouvoir d'enchaîner mon courroux;

It might have seemed a little ridiculous for this venerable monarch to imprison his son in such crazy fashion. Yet he is saved from the ridiculous by his sublime sense of importance and by his tremendous devotion to his kingdom. He claims that it is the safety and welfare of his subjects that justify him in his barbarous treatment of the violent prince (II, 10):

Un Roi n'écoute point l'amour ni son caprice,
Il n'entend, il ne suit que la seule Justice;

Yet this Polish potentate is dramatically not free from certain stage requirements, and since the ubiquitous Arlequin is the court-jester, the king has to submit for the sake of French audiences to sundry liberties and familiarities. Thus, when he decides to free his son temporarily, Arlequin rushes to the monarch, exclaiming:²¹

Papa Roi, pour ce trait élatant,
Souffrez qu'Arlequin vous embrasse;

then he embraces him. Is it that the court-jester at the Polish court enjoyed greater liberty than others of his mocking brotherhood? For later,²² Arlequin resorts to sterner measures in order to make royalty laugh, and actually tickles the prince, Sigismond, when the latter orders him to be amusing. A little

²¹ End of Act 1.

²² Act 2, Scene 6.

act like this induces a sort of homelike feeling in a court, though it makes the Polish royal circle seem somewhat provincial.

Similar to BOISSY's play, for its extravagance of imagination and incredibility of plot, is LESAGE's *Zémire et Almanzor* (1730). This play will serve to show us that treatment similar to that of Hungary and Poland is accorded to Russia; for the scene of this extravaganza is in Astrakhan, a southeastern province near the Caspian sea. In the noble capital of "Astracan," we find a king, who, like his Polish prototype cited above, is horribly worried about the character of his heir. To ascertain his true nature, he has had him brought up far from court, as the son of a shepherd. For vague reasons he has adopted as his daughter Zémire, who is really the daughter of Abénazar, the shepherd who is guarding the prince. In the course of years the royal heir, grown up, has joined the army, and distinguished himself so conspicuously that he has risen to the rank of vizier. He has become a great favorite with the king who has even promised him his daughter. Then, into the midst of this bright Oriental atmosphere, there breaks a disturbing factor, none other than the prince of Russia, Alinguer. He woos Timur-Can's daughter, and, realizing that his main obstacle is Almanzor, the brave young vizier, he determines to poison the king's mind against him. He accomplishes this easily by telling Timur-Can of certain clandestine visits Almanzor pays to a hidden treasure which he is keeping for himself. The brewing tempest soon blows over when it is discovered that the cache which the vizier visits so

secretly contains only his old discarded shepherd's clothes. The king then takes him back into favor, reveals his true birth, and also that of his supposed daughter. The play ends with their marriage.

It is interesting to trace the similarities between this plot in a Russo-Oriental court and the preceding one which has its scene in a Polish court. We find the same doubt exhibited by the kings regarding their scions; we find that these suspicions are baseless, and that the princes are restored to their rights. These common traits are significant even if BOISSY, whose play was given in 1732, had been inspired by LESAGE, who wrote his in 1730. As was the case in Hungary, a Russian prince is found in love with a beauty in a far-away province. He is traveling incognito and, except for one servant, has no one with him. It seems almost normal for these royal scions of the East to travel thus among neighboring kingdoms. We are led to think that their majestic parents, feeling it is time for their sons to marry, send them off to find wives. Would that it could be so! We do not find in our plays the princes of countries nearer to France acting in the same enviably free manner. Our royal Russian gallant is pictured as a rather fearless lover, and as not exerting himself too daintily in his words and manners. He is spoken of as coming from a neighboring province that is very powerful and to be feared. This might indicate that the time of the action of the play is before 1554, since that is the year when the kingdom of Astrakhan was definitely incorporated as part of the Russian realm.

Regarding Russia, the sad lack of dramatic ma-

terial is a definite assurance of the absence of general interest in that country. Perhaps our record of such a negative result has in itself some value. We have to report only a single reference to Russia as an existing country, pulsating with modern life and progress. This is to be found in a play by MADAME DE GENLIS.²³ Here we meet a young traveler just back from his experiences in England, Spain, Italy, and Holland, who is sketching his next trip. He intends to go north, he assures us (II, 3):

Oui, je compte faire le voyage du Nord. J'irai d'abord en Russie, parce que je médite un ouvrage sur les progrès des Russes dans les arts et dans la politique . . . Et puis je veux connaître la Suède, le Danemark.

This knowledge which he seeks regarding Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, is certainly not commonly possessed by Frenchmen. Neither is his interest.

Similarly, little interest is shown for the Scandinavian²⁴ group of kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. During the eighteenth century, Norway and Denmark formed one monarchy, politically unconcerned with continental affairs, connected indirectly only by a prospering commercial marine. Sweden, because of the heroic part she had taken in European religious wars under Gustavus Adolphus, had assumed a prominence which reached its culmination in 1648. Thereafter, through a mistaken policy which involved her in futile rivalries with her enemies, Russia and Austria, she steadily declined,

²³ *Le Voyageur, Théâtre d'Education.*

²⁴ For the sake of completeness, we include here these few bare comments on the remaining minor nations, though, of course, they cannot be classed as eastern European.

till she fell into a complete state of anarchy in 1718, after the death of her last great military leader, Charles XII. From this time on, Sweden no longer counts among the armed nations of Europe; and, though she makes up for this military decline by a steady progress toward civilization, her relations with the greater powers are not of prime importance, and therefore not likely to enter into the consciousness of the people of any particular nation. This decline of power is also explained by the decrease of population in Sweden due to her wars. In 1720 there were only about 1,350,000 inhabitants, and by 1768 there were barely two millions. Sweden was a nation whose great history in the past had cost her her present.

Poorest of all then is our dramatic record of Sweden and Denmark. There is nothing further to say than that there is nothing to say. This may seem at first thought extraordinary. Yet, upon further reflection, we remark that even upon a stage so international as the modern American, the appearance of Danish or Swedish characters, Ibsenites excepted, is far from frequent. There is an endless succession of Englishmen and Frenchmen, and a copious flow of Germans, Austrians, Italians, Spaniards (a trickling of the latter), and other continentals. All of which goes to prove that the tendency of the stage in the matter of foreign characters is to reflect an interest, generally passing in its nature, in some question aroused by the trend of the times.

We might add here, in reference to another minor nation, that there is a complete dearth of Portuguese characters. The French, as a nation, had very little

to do with that seacoast country. England because of her interest in Gibraltar had practically monopolized the political significance of Portugal, and this intimacy aroused a strong interest which is abundantly reflected in contemporary English drama. In the case of France the law of interest applies negatively with Portugal.

We can from our study of plays with figures from the minor nations point out very few traits that sound realistic or even indicative of a desire to make closer acquaintance with the originals. Our French audiences did not care, evidently. We did find the German Swiss pictured as drinkers and brawlers, avid for money and riotous living. The Flemish and Dutch seemed in the main similarly gifted, the former having a little more virtuous aspect, the latter a notoriously carefree and immoral existence. In all of these nations we found a slight sprinkling of good honest folk with homely virtues, among which there figured prominently a gigantic admiration for the French. Our labors were least successful in the countries lying to the east of France, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Russia. In the main, we found these lands assuming an Oriental character, as if they had ceased their relationship with the Western world and turned their faces toward the East. History tells us that this characterization is not far from correct, since all through the century, and indeed down to the present, these countries have been attracted politically or territorially to the lands of the rising sun. We have detached very few qualities that give these nations a contemporary and practical aspect, except those of war. These references

are naturally occasional, tinged with their circumstances, and therefore possessed of little permanent value. In the light of this study we have to conclude that France has dramatically an insignificant sense of relationship or interest in these countries.

FRANCE AND THE OTHER NATIONS
OF EUROPE

FRANCE AND OTHER NATIONS

A GLANCE at our chapters will show that in the main we have tried to reveal how foreigners appear in drama to French eyes. We have hinted here and there at how Frenchmen thought they appeared to foreign eyes, but, except in the case of Englishmen where a systematic presentation of this view was necessary, we have made no effort to reflect fully all we have found on the impressions made by Frenchmen upon foreigners. The present chapter is to include a few of the additional aspects of these international relationships. Besides, it is but natural that, at the right dramatic occasion, our authors should stage expressions of thought concerning different nations at the same time. An attempt to register opinion regarding European countries they have visited is frequently made by recently returned travelers. Such utterances cannot very well be included under any particular nation, and they will therefore be presented in this chapter of comparative study.

In general, these returned travelers are young men who have gone off in a spirit of adventure, without too much curiosity regarding ethnological and geographical distinctions. Being Frenchmen, they feel also that they have a peculiar kind of reputation to maintain; and upon their return, many do not hesi-

tate to give such a detailed list of their fair conquests abroad, that one is tempted to believe that the amorous quest was the sole purpose of their travels. In this way, among our authors, we find rich comparative studies on love in the different countries, almost convincing in their garb of witty generalization. These, too, we shall include to some extent.

The purpose of this chapter then is to give that general point of view regarding the European nations that a separate study of divers lands cannot afford.

I — FRENCHMEN

We cannot include here more than a summary of the way authors picture their fellow-countrymen in their relation with the men and women — women need to be mentioned — of other countries. We find almost always in the Gallic gentleman a being full of gay elegance and witty shrewdness. His manners would distinguish him as vastly superior in any company of foreigners, and he eventually becomes the high functionary par excellence of all social occasions. So he travels to Spain and Italy and is feared because of his heartless sway over the black-eyed damsels of those countries. In Germany, we find him dominating his fellow-officers by his shrewd wit and gallant bearing. He is at first shocked in England by the general roughness he meets, a rudeness, he finds, that is only apparent and not real. There he makes little impression on the girlhood of the country, but a good deal more on the male youth, for the English "bucks" are attracted by his social graces and clever repartee, all of which they

lack. On many occasions, our traveling Frenchmen meet an indifferent welcome, caused by insistent rumors regarding their loose morals and their reckless amorous intentions. This character so generally assigned to them arouses distrust, which is always allayed at the end of each play by the French lover proving himself to be as trustworthy as any other gallant. The freedom of French women is greatly admired, especially by the women of countries like Spain and Turkey, where feminine existence seems a kind of serfdom when compared with the astonishing liberties afforded their wives by Frenchmen.

These in general are the main facts. For further suggestive touches, outside of those to be presented in the course of this chapter, we can refer to the individual plays mentioned in this study where French characters intermingle with foreign ones. Any such play is likely to contain a great many shrewd observations regarding these relationships. Since the purpose of our study is to emphasize the foreign aspect of things as seen by French eyes, we hasten on to the more comparative study of the nationalities.

II — EUROPEAN NATIONALITIES

It may be that the countries of Europe were sometimes thought unfit by our authors to govern themselves. Or it may be that such sentiments were expressed in the heat of emotion and in the classic exaggeration that occurs in every well-written *divertissement*. At any rate, we discover quite frequently an alarming desire on the part of foreigners

to submit to French dominion, even politically. We have already seen how whole-heartedly the Flemish¹ preferred the reign of wine under Louis of France to the beery control of the Austrians. In England, too, we find a marked subservience in matters social and graceful to French mentors. The attitude of Spain and Italy is best reflected by VOLTAIRE in his ditty sung by a Spaniard and a Neapolitan:²

A jamais de la France
Recevons nos rois;
Que la même vaillance
Triomphe sous les mêmes lois.

This is indeed a whole shower of bouquets upon one's own compatriots, evidently thrown to please the Bourbons. Yet there is a method beneath this madness that we are beginning to-day to perceive when we speak of the United States of Europe. The sentiment

Que la même vaillance
Triomphe sous les mêmes lois

should reverberate insistently throughout the armed camps of the continent.

This deference on the part of other nations to French political precedence is probably patriotically exaggerated by our enthusiastic writers. Such references are found mainly in plays written in war-times, when the very atmosphere was tinged with great living and high deeds and when one's heart was keenly attuned to the nobility of one's own land.

¹ Chapter, *The Netherlanders*, p. 264.

² *La Princesse de Navarre* (1745). In the *divertissement*.

Yet there are countless indications of French precedence in matters of social etiquette that can leave us in no doubt regarding the *savoir-vivre* so completely monopolized by the gallant nation. We have already included in our previous studies references which lightly picture this influence among the peoples of Europe. We seek here only to trace a larger and more worthy influence exerted by the French and for which they give themselves credit only tacitly. This is the transformation wrought in European courts by the influx of the French language and its sharpening tendencies upon the mind.

When we note that French was spoken in all the great royal, literary, and social circles and in many minor ones, we can hardly overestimate the widespread effect of French culture upon the civilized world. In the seventeenth century the teachings of the Cartesian philosophy had gone forth; in the eighteenth the gospel of reason and French *esprit* had wrought its results and had called such disciples as VOLTAIRE to Prussia, DIDEROT to Russia, and ROUSSEAU to England. In the nineteenth, the channels in which flowed these sweeping currents widened and the whole world felt itself quiver at the aftermath of the French Revolution. It is surprising then that we find in our plays so few traces of this greater mental influence so wonderfully exerted by the French. Yet, when we realize that the comic form of drama can hardly convey such a thought without running the risk of boring its sprightly audiences, our surprise diminishes. Dramatic writers would so much rather choose the socially graceful antics of their characters as these

afford an obvious field for comic treatment. BOISSY ventures once to note the transformations accomplished by French *esprit*, and this he does in a kind of allegory which permits all sorts of allusions:³

L'Europe maintenant, & qui plus est l'Asie,
Présentent à nos yeux un différent tableau.
Le beau sexe n'est plus esclave en Italie,
Et l'on voit du vin en Turquie.

.
Et l'on fait des vers en Russie.

Russia turned literary! Can one imagine anything that could ever accomplish that?

On the other hand, we must not imagine that France feigns ignorance of or is ungrateful for the lavish gifts she receives from other nations. In the same play, BOISSY makes his clever acknowledgment to Englishmen and Italians (sc. 4):

Je ne prononce point entre Londres et Florence:

.
J'apprends à chanter d'elle & de vous à penser.
C'est ainsi, de vos dons, que j'enrichis la France.

Music from Italy and philosophy from London sound characteristic enough. But we find, as we progress in our study of the travel impressions of our gay voyagers, a host of things they bring home. Let us see, for example, what the Marquis of Florange⁴ has to say regarding his adventures in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and England:

³ *La Frivolité* (1753), Scene 2.

⁴ BOISSY, *Le Mari Garçon* (1742), Act 1, Scene 6.

J'ai parcouru sans faire résidence,
 L'Allemagne, la Suisse, où l'on m'a forcément
 Enseigné l'art de boire alternativement
 En même pot qui fait la ronde;
 Et de m'enivrer proprement
 Pêle-mêle avec tout le monde.
 Puis j'ai vu la Hollande, où l'esprit, l'agrément,
 Où le plaisir paraît un être imaginaire;
 Où le vrai savoir-vivre, où le grand art de plaire,
 Est l'art de commercer toujours utilement.

J'ai fait le tour de l'Italie:
 Là, j'ai, pendant dix mois, subsisté de concert,
 Ou n'ai vécu que de dessert:
 En décoration, ou bien en symphonie,
 On vous y traite, on y fait les honneurs;
 Un concerto, des fruits, des glaces, des liqueurs,
 Il est vrai d'un goût admirable,
 Accompagnés de parfums et de fleurs,
 Composent le repas & remplissent la table:
 Bref, c'est un pays merveilleux,
 Où l'art y sert de nourriture;
 On n'y soupe jamais, on y dîne en peinture,
 Et l'on n'y mange que des yeux.

.

J'ai terminé ma course à Londres.
 On y sait tous les arts, hors l'art de converser:
 La parole est un bien qu'on craint d'y dépenser.
 Pour se donner la peine de répondre,
 On est trop occupé du travail de penser.

How well caricatured these countries appear in these lines! How they add to and re-enforce what we have already seen of each individually! The Germans and the Swiss are just heavy drinkers. The Dutch we find again are mainly merchants, too busy for anything else in life but trade. Italians are essentially artists, their air and food consisting entirely of

painting, sculpture, and music. Finally we renew acquaintance with the taciturn Englishman and rediscover that he is too busy thinking to do much speaking.

The foregoing lecture on nations is certainly the work of an observant author, gifted in expression and richly endowed with that famous French quality they dub *esprit*. Our plays are full of this in the sharp witty exchange of dialogue and in the keen power of observation displayed. The possession of this sparkling mental faculty must afford huge enjoyment; yet, according to one important writer, MARIVAUX, who looks about him at the other European nations, there are compensations for those who do not possess it. He says sadly: ⁵

Pour de l'esprit, nous en avons à n'en savoir que faire; nous en mettons partout, mais de jugement, de réflexion, de flegme, de sagesse, en un mot, de cela (*montrant son front*), n'en parlons plus.

Frenchmen, then, while noting their superiority in quick and ready social repartee, are quite willing to yield the torch of pure thought into the hands of others, usually the English or the Swiss. MADAME DE GENLIS puts this idea aptly when one of her characters says: ⁶

En Italie, mes observations n'ont roulé que sur le matériel; il ne faut là que de la mémoire, et des yeux, on n'y peut réfléchir que sur le passé; mais c'est en Suisse, en Angleterre, qu'il faut chercher des êtres pensans et des têtes bien organisées; des idées d'une profondeur! . . . Ils ont sur nous l'avantage d'une raison géomètre et méthodique, et nous ne

⁵ *L'Isle de la Raison* (1728), Scene 1.

⁶ *Le Voyageur, Théâtre d'Education*, Act 2, Scene 5.

sommes pas en mesure de pouvoir comparer notre logique à la leur.

The energetic Swiss and the profound Englishman are thus crowned by our frank dramatic authors with logical powers that transcend those of their own nation. Italians they invest with a tendency toward the development of memory, since that is the faculty which a country whose greatness lies mainly in the past is likely to possess.

These interesting international comparisons are carried on in a multitude of ways by our dramatic authors. We have already cited a few. Let us here add another that is extremely amusing and especially up to date. In DEZÈDE'S *Auguste et Théodore* (1789), we find ourselves in a German hotel, presumably Prussian, where the proprietor makes special efforts to attract traveling guests. To help him, he naturally employs waiters of different nationalities. He has an Englishman, an Italian, a Frenchman, and a German. He soon dismisses the first three for reasons which we shall let him explain (sc. 3):

L'Anglois étoit insolent, méprisant tout ce qui n'est pas de sa nation, & toujours tout prêt à faire le coup de poing avec le premier qu'il rencontroit sur son chemin.

Can one not easily recognize by these features the battling Tommy with his rough and ready ways, perhaps a little unsuited to the dignified calling of waiter?

L'Italien étoit faux, hypocrite et vindicatif, d'ailleurs très suspect du côté de la fidélité.

See in these few adjectives the summing up of the qualities of the adventurous Italians who left home

to win fortune abroad. We have met them plying busily their calling as teachers of art and language, and surreptitiously adding to their income in divers questionable ways.

The hotel-proprietor dismissed the Frenchman, alas! can we not guess why? His goings-on with the maids made them entirely undependable in their work. And, let us note that the German waiter survives this general dispersion. We are not left in doubt as to why. Says the proprietor to him (sc. 4):

Fidèle Allemand, je n'ai pas besoin de te recommander. . . .

Answers the waiter (le Garçon Allemand):

Vous me connoissez, Monsieur; sans faire beaucoup de bruit, je fais tout doucement mon devoir.

Which is very characteristic of him, if we are to believe our own eyes.

LESAGE contrives another ingenious way to have us see the world in contrast; and his method is so clever that he can make us travel at will from continent to continent, indeed from planet to planet. He introduces us in his *Une Journée des Parques* to the three Parcae or sister Fates spinning, measuring, and cutting life threads. Naturally they serve all of mankind and so we gather in their dialogue many interesting contemporary comments, clothed in LESAGE'S inimitable sarcasm. The sisters, we find, are bloodthirsty hags who cut life threads merely for amusement, or sometimes for exercise, or again to try out a new pair of scissors. We see with them on the Turkish and Persian fron-

tier thirty thousand engaged in battle. The Fates slaughter them all. Then we fly back to French, Piedmontese, and Prussian armies on the river Po. Again the sisters cut fast and furiously. At a siege in Germany, they recklessly determine to kill more of the invaders than the invaded. Suddenly we find ourselves hovering over a Venetian vessel on the Adriatic sea. A tempest arises, the ship is wrecked, and the sisters decree that all perish save one young Frenchman. He reaches shore on a spar. Taken to Constantinople, he becomes a Mussulman, but is impaled because of his irreverence. Back to Italy we travel, right into the heart of the ruin and desolation wrought by an earthquake. Clotho, one of the sisters, objects to the slaughter of more than two thousand. For which humane prompting she is properly admonished by Atropos: ⁷

Vous ne pensez pas à ce que vous dites, Clotho. Quand nous donnerions aujourd'hui la mort à deux cens mille personnes, ce ne feroit pas une nuit de Londres, de Paris et de Pékin.

Then breathlessly on to Mexico and Peru, where we see further bloody occurrences perpetrated in the name of religion.

In this international display of brutality, we get a little notion of the extent of LESAGE's geographical acquaintance and of his perception of the futility of the contemporary clashes and battles. Most of our dramatic writers, however, adopt a directer method when they desire to introduce new figures from distant lands. They generally have a *divertissement*, which consists of a series of witty verses

⁷ Première Séance.

with music, sung at the end of the regular comedy. This, in a way, corresponds to a modern international ballet. It makes no difference about the place where the action of the play, to which the *divertissement* is attached, occurs, any bizarre and striking figures can be used. So HOUDART DE LA MOTTE, in his *Le Magnifique*⁸ which has its scene in Florence, presents to us a wonderful array as the glittering gifts of his magnificent hero. Enter in the *divertissement*:

Un Méxiquain & une Méxiquaine apportent des petits Coffres d'Or.

Un Arménien et une Arménienne apportent des Ecrins de Pierreries.

Un Persan, une Persane, un Chinois et une Chinoise apportent des Corbeilles remplies de riches étoffes.

This splendid festival in all its gorgeous brilliance sounds a little prosaic in comparison with others we find that fetch their imagined characters from the corners of the globe, and indeed beyond. We thus have an opportunity of meeting Hurons, Iroquois, Australians, operatic performers from the Congo, gorillas, Amazons, Olympic deities, and the galaxy of Greek and Roman heroes. No matter how exotic their nature, they all join hands and sing the poet's verses amicably. The *divertissement* always ends with a direct appeal to the audience, asking them wittily to like the play or begging them humbly to do so. This musical epilogue is generally found after comic operas, after plays given by the Italian troupe or by other theaters, except the dig-

⁸ About 1705.

nified Comédie Française, and it makes an interesting study in its multitudinous ways of appeal to the exacting listeners. Because of the too foreign nature of the figures most frequently used, we cannot here include a study of them. It is rarely that we find an ordinary European conglomerate. Such is almost the case in PIRON'S *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), which has its scene in Spain. Here French, Spanish, Swiss, and Turkish figures sway side by side in their clownish and often lascivious enunciations of the moral of the play. In their songs there is nothing distinctive about the singer's nationality, and so, from the point of view of our study, there can be little of profit in a further examination of them.

There is one more opportunity afforded by our plays for an international display of characteristics, and this one is rather universal. After all, there can hardly be a play without a pair of lovers, and hardly a lover who would limit the extent of his passion to the mere confines of this terrestrial atmosphere. Love being so peculiarly universal, it offers a rare opportunity then to our dramatic writers to describe its vagaries in other lands. For this reason a good part of our discussion in preceding chapters has dealt with the amorous manifestations of each nation. Yet we are not lacking in passionate disquisitions upon love and its ways in different lands. A few of these we present here.

III — LOVE IN THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

To begin with, we must produce some evidence to prove that our authors knew whereof they were talking when they pictured dramatically the phenomena of love in the countries of their continent. Certainly no writer could pretend to an inclusive knowledge who was unfamiliar with the attributes of his female characters, the qualities in women that attract the men of their nation. Let us then hasten to dispel all doubt regarding the capabilities of our writers, by indicating what PALISSOT, a writer inferior to many we have met, has to say. In his *Les Tuteurs* (1754), Damis, a widely traveled lover, thus delineates the international traits of his "chère Julie" (III, 1):

Elle a cet enjouement qui plaît en Italie;
 Ce port majestueux qui charme en Circassie;
 Ces traits fins, délicats, ce brillant coloris,
 Cet œil vif, animé, qu'on recherche à Paris;
 Cet air de liberté, l'ornement des Françaises;
 Cet éclat de blancheur naturel aux Angloises;
 Un pied qui dans Pékin n'auroit pas de rival:

Here then is the ideal beauty who garners in her treasury all the loveliest features of her sisters on this globe, gayety from Italy, bearing and form from Circassia, animation and freedom from France, lily-whiteness from England, and the crowning touch, tiny feet from China. Let any one dispute in the face of this delicious display the rare capabilities of our dramatists.

With this important fact established, let us now

produce our first contrast, love in France and in Spain. We have already seen how the amorous pursuit in the home of the Spaniard assumes almost professional proportions. It becomes a constant preoccupation which soon tinges the atmosphere with a peculiar aroma of mysterious passion. No wonder then that the susceptible Frenchman becomes immediately aware of this refined pungency and presently submits to it. It is in vain that Arlequin remonstrates with his most typical of masters, Léandre, at the exuberance of his passion: ⁹

Quoi! vous donnez dans ces excès?

Vous, aimer de la sorte!

Voilà qui n'est guère Français;

Ou le diable m'emporte.

An even higher authority than Arlequin concurs in this sage opinion. This is Hebe,¹⁰ the cup-bearer of the gods, who has been retained by Cupid to decide which nation produces the best lovers. Unfortunately, most of the contestants for the Cytherean prize are Asiatics or savages. The European entries in this worthy competition are a Dutch pair,¹¹ a French pair, and a lone Spaniard, and it is in the latter that we are most interested now. The Spaniard comes in before the fair judge and recites his pitiful story. Once, after serenading the lovely Isabelle, he had found her door open. Entering, he had seen her asleep, and so he had patiently waited hours till she awoke. Fired by her beauty he had

⁹ PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), Act 1, Scene 2.

¹⁰ FAVART, *Le Prix de Cythère* (1742).

¹¹ Chapter, *The Netherlanders*, p. 267.

fallen on his knees and begged her to be his. She quivered, but only with anger at his having dared to enter her room. Our timid lover immediately retreated, whereat she boldly followed him and hastened his exit by throwing him out of the window. Since that untoward event, this patient lover has nightly serenaded the unyielding Isabelle. Twenty years have passed in this manner, and our lover still hopes. This, Hebe comments, is certainly rare constancy, but after all, constancy alone does not make love. The Spaniard apparently has nothing else to offer and so he loses the prize. In this sad tale, we must recognize the twinkling fun that FAVART is poking at the unendurable languors of Spanish love-making. The charming contrast between this listless product and the alluring energetic brand the French produce, is playfully brought out by Hebe, who proclaims (sc. 4):

Quand l'Espagnol, plaintiff amant,
 Soupire et pleure son tourment,
 On sommeille.
 J'aime mieux un François actif,
 Quoique souvent un peu trop vif;
 Cela réveille.

We find in one play credit as well as discredit given to Spain for its influence upon the manner in which courtship is carried on in France. Tontine,¹² an experienced opera star, expresses her satisfaction because the relationship between men and women in France has changed. No more meaningless mannerisms; but instead a frank and friendly courtship that comes straight to the point. She explains (II, 16):

¹² AUTREAU, *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718).

Cela s'est fait en retranchant de l'amour ce qu'il avoit d'inutile et d'incommode; en abolissant cette politesse surannée que vous nommez galanterie: elle étoit devenue à charge: on l'a renvoyée aux Espagnols et aux Maures d'Afrique, d'où elle étoit venue, avec ses fêtes galantes, ses tournois et ses carrousels. Tout cela s'en est retourné de compagnie.

This is an interesting reference of some importance, since it indicates clearly that in the mind of one keen contemporary observer, AUTREAU, the thousand meaningless flatteries and insincerities that accompanied wooing had had their origin in Spain and among the Moors. In this belief he is certainly borne out by the many conventions and forms which, we have found, hood and shroud the freest of the passions in Spain. These forms must have been the outcome at first of heartfelt expressions of love, and they finally assumed definite and general use till they gradually shared the fate of all forms when outgrown.

We see then that French writers are not at all backward in meting out due praise to the indigenous kind of love-making. In our previous citations we have already included many which tend to prove this amorous superiority on the part of the gay Gaul. We find him preferred wherever he goes, except possibly in England; for English girls are "different." Let us not attribute this failure to supersede the Englishman in the hearts of his fair, to the power or ability of milord as a wooer. We have in fact discovered that in this fine art he was woefully lacking in many essentials. The true reason for the Frenchman's lack of success in England is to be found in English girls.

One more interesting contrast is sketched for us by the inexhaustible FAVART, this time between love in his country and in Holland. We have already learned why the fair goddess Hebe has denied the Cytherean prize to the Spanish applicant. Similarly she refuses to grant it to the Dutch pair, in spite of their sturdy arguments. To help them to see the reasonableness of her decision, she says: ¹³

Les François raisonnent plus juste:
Chex eux l'amour est délicat.

To which the Dutch woman responds:

Si délicat,
Qu'un rien l'abat.
Chez nous, plé fort, plé robuste,
L'y être toujours en même état.

It is certainly hard to decide between these two kinds of affection; neither can be called ideal. It is interesting, nevertheless, to penetrate these characterizations of French love as delicate, of Dutch love as robust and lasting, even though mercenary.

We need not dwell further on this decided superiority, except to mention once more the unpopularity of the young Frenchman when he travels in a foreign land. His reputation haunts him. We can now perceive a solid basis for the antagonistic feeling of his hosts, for what man would not resent being forced to dwindle in the hearts of the ladies of his native land? Frenchmen, we learn, are feared because of their affectionate propensities and many a man prays for the safety of his daughter or his wife

¹³ FAVART, *Le Prix de Cythère* (1742), Scene 2.

when the joyous gallant is near. PIRON verses it quite plainly when his Arlequin says of Frenchmen: ¹⁴

On ne peut les héberger,
Sans danger,
Dans le pays étranger;
C'est là leurs grandes manies,
De planter (bis) des colonies.

These impressions, received from many, many plays, go to make up a sum total of opinion that is to be respected. Instinctively, the young French traveler pictured in drama turns to love-making as part of the necessary education to be obtained from his foreign experiences. On his return, he recounts his adventures with the frankness that comes from the assurance that he has done well. There is the marquis of Florange,¹⁵ for example, who relates with gusto how in Milan he tried to attract a girl secretly but was defeated in his high purposes by a watchful dragon of a mother. Again in Florence, he managed by bribing the woman-in-waiting to enter a lady's room, but was driven off by an unreasonable and jealous husband. But the Frenchman, as we have seen, takes his disappointments quite as lightly as his successes.

In England, however, he is forced to take things more seriously and his new attitude is abundantly reflected in his changed manners. He is no longer the gay flaunting reveler, but is turned into a sober wooer, who succeeds generally on his real merit. We have already seen the queer effects of this trans-

¹⁴ PIRON, *La Robe de Dissention* (1726), Act 1, Scene 11.

¹⁵ BOISSY, *Le Mari Garçon* (1742), Act 1, Scene 6.

formation,¹⁶ for love in England is a more thoughtful exchange and loses largely the volatile coloring with which it is pictured in other countries. An English widow, Eliante, puts it thus:¹⁷

Oui, en France, où l'on n'aime que par air, où l'on n'aspire à être aimé que pour avoir la vanité de le dire, où l'amour n'est qu'un simple badinage, qu'une tromperie continuelle, et où celui qui trompe le mieux passe toujours pour le plus habile. Mais ce n'est pas ici de même; nous sommes de meilleure foi, nous n'aimons uniquement que pour avoir le plaisir d'aimer, nous nous en faisons une affaire sérieuse, et la tendresse parmi nous est un commerce de sentimens, et non pas un trafic de paroles.

Consequently in such a land, where women reason so ably and perceive truths so clearly, the give and take of man and woman must be on a higher plane. The gallant Frenchman who enters upon this different atmosphere perceives it as surely as he sensed the romantic aroma of Spain. A marriage with an English girl — there can be little talk of anything less — assumes important aspects, reflects, as it were, the union of two great countries. One English girl reveals this attitude so clearly, that we cannot refrain from quoting the passage:¹⁸

Et je croirai servir la France et l'Angleterre,
Si je puis par mes soins, faire voir à la terre,
Uni d'un même sort, ce que toutes les deux
Ont produit de plus rare et de plus vertueux.

This magnificent outburst over the possibility of an intermarriage is sufficient testimony of its importance.

¹⁶ Chapter, *The English*, page 210.

¹⁷ Boissy, *Le François à Londres* (1727), Scene 2.

¹⁸ Boissy, *Le Comte de Neuilli* (1736), Act 1, Scene 5.

A witty résumé of all we have said and more is to be found in a play by AUTREAU.¹⁹ In it, an Italian girl, Flaminia, just out of the convent, voices her opinions regarding amorous phenomena as they appear in the various lands she has never seen, Spain, Germany and France, and in her native land, Italy. This delicious continental comparison is surely a-propos here (I, 6):

. . . l'amour en France me paroît un jeu, un amusement; en Espagne, une folie; en Italie, une fureur, une maladie; en Allemagne, un remède . . . L'Espagnol a l'amour dans la tête, dans l'imagination; l'Italien, dans le cœur et dans le fiel; l'Allemand dans l'estomac et dans le foie; le François, un peu partout; il tient de tous les autres . . . L'amour en Italie occupe dès le matin; c'est la principale affaire: en France, on y donne, l'après-midi, les momens destinés aux jeux ou à l'oisiveté: en Espagne, on y emploie le soir et la nuit; c'est le tems du mystère, des aventures, des chimères, des voisins: en Allemagne, on aime le lendemain matin, quand la digestion est faite.

Which might mean that Germans never love.

But we need not content ourselves with simple discussions about European lovers. Our French audiences evidently did not, for we find served to them in more or less artistic fashion the lovers themselves. To bring together these passionate wooers from separated lands in order comically to illustrate their differences, is no simple task. One writer finds the natural solution in having a Norman, a Gascon, and an Englishman fall in love with the same woman in Paris.²⁰ The Gascon naturally lies

¹⁹ *Le Port-à-l'Anglois* (1718).

²⁰ ROMAGNESI, *L'Amant Protée* (1739).

his way into her graces, the Norman makes love more timidly, and the Englishman is generally occupied challenging his rivals. The three are asked what they would do for their lady in order to prove the sincerity of their passion. Says the tricky Gascon (III, 6):

J'irois pour elle, affronter aux enfers,
La triple tête de Cerbère.

Says the thoughtful Norman:

Pour elle on me verroit voltiger dans les airs,
Si la chose pouvoit se faire.

Says the blustering Englishman:

Moi, j'irois au-delà des Mers
Lui conquérir une terre étrangère.

The cunning LESAGE finds a much more ingenious and imaginative way of bringing his foreign lovers together. He creates a wonderful island called the Island of the Amazons.²¹ Many years ago, the women of the place had concerted an attack upon their sleeping husbands and had murdered them all. Since then they had been free. According to the wise provisions of the constitution, no men who happen to come to the island are allowed to remain permanently. Every woman pays her due to the State by living with a man for three months only, during which time she supports him in idleness. Daughters born are kept, sons are exchanged for daughters at neighboring settlements. Sometimes, men are captured and forced to come to the island,

²¹ *L'Ile des Amazones.*

but after three months, they invariably have to leave, for the law provides that the same man cannot marry a second Amazon.

Into this atmosphere of woman-made law we are suddenly thrust upon a day when three husbands are to depart, having finished their quarterly residence. One is the Baron de Brutemberg, a Swiss. During his marital period he has wallowed in sloth and content, eating, drinking, smoking, and making love. He is naturally loth to go and in their efforts to get rid of him, "ein querelle" almost ensues. The baron has found his life too pleasing for him to suffer this abrupt interruption of it. Yet he must go, and with him the inconsolable Don Carlos, a Spaniard. To the latter, the year's quarter has been a period of intense love-making. He has taken his relationship with his Amazon very seriously and he does not want to go from her. He is terribly romantic in his whole bearing and he shows abundantly that he takes his departure tragically. Bradamante, his ex-wife, chides him sarcastically for his over-attentiveness to her (sc. 7):

Vous m'obsédez depuis trois mois, vous m'assassinez de douces castillanes. Cela amuse d'abord; mais cela ennuie bientôt.

As might be expected, the French husband departs quite gayly, without a single regret at the prospective change. In his case, it is the Amazon who coyly pursues.

We have by this time seen some of the most interesting manifestations of love among the European

nations as presented by our clever dramatists. We have had an opportunity to study some of the contrasts afforded by such a comparative picture; and we have been aided in our natural mental tendency in the construction of types of affection and their association with particular nations. Let us, in conclusion, not overlook the fact that our French writers, with all their light-hearted and deft treatment of Cupid's vocation, still realize in many ways the grandeur of the passion and its deep significance among the nations. If we sought deep in their hearts, we should realize from them that love is universal, that it is the greatest inspiration of mankind, that it constitutes among lovers a republic of men and women who, just because they love, cannot truly belong to factitious political boundaries. Dormant, a most patient and faithful wooer, puts it well,²² when his logic, sped by his devotion to his lady, enables him to see far beyond the restricted realm of the immediate. He calls out to the nations of Europe:

François, Anglois, Espagnol, Allemand,
Vont au devant du nœud que le cœur leur dénote;
Ils sont tous rassemblés par ce lien charmant,
Et quand on est sensible, on est compatriote.

Love is the great bond of mankind, and if the deeper note suggested by this thought is rarely struck by our authors, it is mainly because they are trying to be funny. In the hands of inferior dramatists the comic and the thoughtful are incompatible elements. Besides, the message of the truth of love cannot be

²² FAVART, *L'Anglois à Bordeaux* (1763), Scene 5.

conveyed in comic terms. Let it therefore remain that in our plays we have seen a suggestion that in friendliness and love lies the ultimate unity of human nature.

Let it also be permitted us to state that though, in our dramatic exploration, we have waded through a mass of unrealistic writing, we have nevertheless encountered in our study so many moving and living forms that the eighteenth century has become animate to us in an almost uncanny manner. We bear away as lasting impressions the flashing marvels of a dying monarchy and the labored groans of a nation in travail. We glimpse in wonder the notions that stirred in French minds concerning their neighbors. We perceive as the years roll on how these notions develop into expression and action. Is it too much to say that the French Revolution was half English? We see how in this gigantic national interplay of forces, there are almost unconscious attractions and repulsions. And finally, — for the realization cannot be avoided, — we feel with enraptured appreciation the entrancing beauty of that most perfect of thought mediums, the French language. Even though wielded, in the field covered by this book, almost exclusively by inferior writers, it has revealed a scintillating charm that must certainly have filled the reader with delight and admiration.

APPENDIX

OF the plays referred to in the chapter on the English, the following short list includes those worth reading for reasons as indicated.

1. An heroic comedy of five acts, with noble characters and Cornelian diction. *Le Comte de Neuilly* (1736), BOISSY.
2. A one-act comedy, swift and sharp, cleverly setting off Frenchmen against Englishmen. *Le François à Londres* (1727), BOISSY.
3. A one-act comedy, very amusing, with a cosmopolitan set of characters. *Le Patagon*, CARMONTELLE.
4. A three-act play, a perfect example of insipid plot and dragging dialogue. *Le Chevalier François à Londres* (1778), DORAT.
5. A five-act drama, with the most significant revolutionary tendencies. *L'Ecole des Mœurs* (1776), FALBAIRE.
6. A one-act farce that reflects vividly the war-excitement of 1756. *Le Mariage par Escalade* (1756), FAVART.
7. A play affording a basis of comparison between an English original and its conversion or perversion into French. *Le Tambour Nocturne* (written 1736, played 1762), DESTOUCHES. *The Drummer*, ADDISON (English original).
8. A three-act drama with revolutionary significances. *L'Orphelin Anglois* (1769), LONGUEIL.
9. A three-act comedy full of biting sarcasm about Europeans. *L'Isle de la Raison* (1728), MARIVAUX.
10. A five-act drama illustrating the queer changes necessary in adapting an English play to French audiences. *Beverlei* (1768), SAURIN. *The Gambler* (1753), MOORE. (English original.)

11. A three-act musical comedy, jolly, modern, sparkling. *Le Roi et le Fermier* (1762), SEDAINÉ. *The King and the Miller of Mansfield*, DODSLEY. (English original).
12. A five-act comedy, giving a full-length portrait of the English merchant of the eighteenth century. *L'Ecosaise* (1760), VOLTAIRE.

INDEX TO WRITERS AND PLAYS

(References to Minor Nationalities are also included)

- Addison, 41, 125, 127, 140, 244
 Allainval, L'Abbé d', 150
Amans Ignorans, les, 28
Amante Romanesque, l', 39
Amant Protée, l', 157, 217, 237, 246, 317, 318
Ambitieux et l'Indiscrète, l', 53, 54, 55
Amitié à l'Epreuve, l', 177, 208, 209, 219, 221, 226
Amour Castillan, l', 58, 66, 68
Amour Précepteur, l', 22, 38
Amours Déguisés, les, 258
Angleterre, Notes sur l', 133
Anglois, l', 186, 240
Anglois à Bordeaux, l', 144, 153, 154, 161, 162, 165, 168, 169, 176, 178, 185, 200, 204, 205, 210, 320
Anglomanie, l', 129, 170, 171, 180, 237, 241
Arlequin Deucalion, 27
 Arnaud, d', 214
 Aucour d', 214
Auguste et Théodore, 92, 94, 103, 305, 306
 Austrians, 269, 270, 271, 275
 Autreau, 23, 28, 31, 34, 39, 97, 98, 312, 313, 317
Aveugle de Spa, l', 179, 209, 262, 263
Bal de Strasbourg, le, 89, 111, 255
Barbier de Séville, le, 60, 74, 77, 83
Barneveldt, 243
 Bavarians, 93
 Beaumarchais, 24, 60, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 235
Beverlei, 129, 175
 Biancolelli, 13, 39
Bienfait Anonymc, le, 102
 Biscayans, 84
 Bohemians, 268, 269, 277, 283, 284
 Boindin, 23, 28, 40, 279
 Boissy, 14, 92, 98, 102, 109, 112, 113, 141, 142, 149, 152, 153, 155, 160, 172, 174, 175, 182, 189, 201, 205, 203, 208, 214, 217, 219, 222, 224, 231, 238, 240, 246, 254, 285, 286, 288, 289, 302, 315, 316
Boissy, Louis de, 141
 Bolingbroke, 133, 149
Coffé, le, 275
 Calderon, 286
Calendrier des Vieillards, le, 29
Caprice Amoureux, le, 32
 Carmontelle, 22, 93, 94, 100, 101, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 143, 160, 171, 194, 241, 258, 265
 Catalonians, 83
Cato, 125
Chanteur Italien, le, 23
Chevalier François à Londres, le, 145, 150, 209, 210, 215, 228, 229
Chevalier François à Turin, le, 33, 34
Claperman, le, 266

- Collé, 139, 158, 239, 240
 Colman, 189
Columbine-Nitétis, 257
Comédiens Corsaires, les, 17
Commedia dell' arte, 26
Comte de Neuilli, le, 142, 152, 201, 202, 206, 207, 222, 223, 316
 Condorcet, 132
 Congreve, 127, 133
Courtisane Amoureuse, la, 108
Crédit est Mort, 256
 Croatiens, 282

 Danes, 291
Débuts, les, 259
Délices de la Suisse, les, 253
Dent, la, 100, 112, 113
Déserteur, le, 100, 104, 106, 114
Désespérés, les, 84
 Desfourcherets, 199
 Desportes, 18
 Destouches, 36, 40, 41, 53, 54, 55, 140, 244
Deux Anglais, les, 143
 Dezède, 92, 94, 103, 305
 Diderot, 73, 128, 129, 301
Diderot and English Thought, 128
 Dodsley, 140
 Dominique, 259
 Dorat, 23, 31, 33, 34, 145, 146, 149, 150, 209, 215, 228, 246
Drummer, The, 140, 244
 Dryden, 125, 127, 132
 Dumaniant, 71, 80, 82
 Dutchmen, 260, 261, 266, 267
 Du Vaure, 17, 41

Ecole des Amours Griquois, l', 89, 263, 264, 283
Ecole des Bourgeois, l', 150
Ecole des Mœurs, l', 146, 179, 197, 198, 229, 230, 246

Ecossaise, l', 170, 187, 188, 200, 212, 213, 245
Elève de la Nature, l', 193, 194
 Engel, 92
English Merchant, The, 189
Entretiens des Cheminées de Madrid, 64
Epoux par Supercherie, l', 175, 219
Etranger, l', 101
Eugénie, 73, 235

 F——, Madame de, 165, 180, 202, 208, 220, 244, 247
Fabricant de Londres, le, 144, 191, 195, 196, 200, 211, 226, 247
 Falbaire, 144, 147, 148, 179, 191, 195, 197, 200, 211, 226, 229, 231, 232, 246, 247
Fausse Prude, la, 13
Fausse Apparences, les, 57, 58, 66, 68, 80
Faux Savant, les, 17, 41
 Favart, 13, 14, 16, 20, 32, 33, 41, 49, 50, 57, 62, 83, 89, 90, 110, 111, 112, 123, 124, 144, 153, 154, 161, 163, 164, 165, 168, 176, 177, 178, 183, 184, 200, 204, 208, 210, 219, 221, 226, 237, 242, 255, 261, 263, 265, 267, 282, 311, 312, 314, 320
 Favart, Madame, 160
Fée Urgèle, la, 20
Femme Jalouse, la, 34, 38
 Finot, 119, 120, 247
 Flemish, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265
 Florian, 19
Foire de Guibray, la, 17
Fou Raisonnable, le, 144
François à Londres, le, 141, 155, 172, 173, 174, 182, 189, 190, 205, 206, 238, 316
 Fréron, 188

- Frivolité, la*, 109, 160, 208, 217, 254, 302
Fuzelier, 15
- Genlis Madame de, 20, 179, 209, 216, 262, 290, 304
 Goldoni, 13
 Gresset, 174, 175, 212
 Grillparzer, 286
 Grimm, 79, 110
 Gueulette, 22, 38, 102
Gulliver's Travels, 166
- Hèle, d', 57, 58, 66, 68, 80
Henriade, la, 117, 261
 Hessians, 93
Hôte et l'Hôtesse, l', 275
 Houdart de la Motte, 23, 29, 30, 37, 308
 Hungarians, 268, 269, 276, 277, 279, 280, 281, 282
- Ile de la Raison, l'*, 7, 166, 167, 304
Ile des Amazons, l', 318, 319
Impertinent malgré lui, l', 98, 113, 246
 Irishmen, 239
- Jolly, 34, 38
Journée des Parques, une, 21, 106, 109, 178, 262, 306, 307
Jumeaux de Bergame, les, 19
- King and the Miller of Mansfield, The*, 140
- La Harpe, 38, 79, 110, 243
 Laplanders, 275
 Lesage, 13, 16, 17, 21, 64, 84, 106, 107, 109, 177, 178, 257, 262, 276, 288, 289, 306, 307, 318
 Le Tourneur, 130
Lettres Philosophiques, les, 132
- Lettres sur les Anglais, les*, 126, 132
 Longueil, 191, 227
- Magnifique, le*, 23, 308
Mari, le, 107
Mariage de Figaro, le, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 83, 235
Mariage par Escalade, le, 49, 57, 90, 123, 124, 164, 183, 184, 237, 242
Mariage Secret, le, 199
Mari Garçon, le, 302, 303, 315
 Marivaux, 7, 13, 51, 166, 168, 304
 Maupertuis, 111
 Mayor de St. Paul, 193
Médecin par Occasion, le, 102
Menuet et l'Allemande, le, 110
 Mercier, 100, 104, 105, 106, 114
Métromanie, la, 30
Minutolo, 30
 Moissy, 110
Mus Exilé, le, 15
 Moncrief, 125
 Montesquieu, 92, 118, 133, 134, 135, 155, 174, 175
 Montezuma, 125
Musicomanie, la, 15, 96
- Nanine*, 214
 New York Times, 119, 247
 Nivelle de la Chaussée, 58, 66, 68, 214
 Norwegians, 291
Nuit aux Aventures, la, 71, 80, 82
- Oberkirch, la Baronne d', 79
Orphelin Anglois, l', 191, 192, 227, 228
 Otway, 127
- Page, der*, 92
 Palissot, 310
Pamela, 128

- Paméla en France*, 214
Parodie au Parnasse, la, 14, 41
Partie de Chasse d'Henri IV, la, 139
Patagon, le, 194, 195, 241
Patrat, 144, 186, 240
Patu, 140
Pennant, 234
Philosophe Dupe de l'Amour, le, 283
Philosophe sans le Savoir, le, 268
Pilhes, 102
Piron, 13, 27, 30, 64, 65, 66, 67, 81, 83, 218, 256, 257, 266, 309, 311, 315
Plain Dealer, *The*, 243
Poles, 268, 272, 285, 286, 287
Pope, 125, 133, 134, 149
Pope, *Life of*, 134
Port-à-l'Anglois, le, 23, 31, 34, 39, 97, 312, 313, 317
Port de Mer, le, 28, 40, 279
Portuguese, 292, 293
Prévost, 214
Prince de Wourtsberg, le, 93, 94, 95, 112, 113
Prince Travesti, le, 51
Princesse de Navarre, la, 48, 52, 56, 76, 300
Prisonnier, le, 265
Prisonniers de Guerre, les, 255, 279, 280, 281, 282
Prix de Cythère, le, 267, 311, 312, 314
Prude, la, 243
Prussians, 93 to 114

Quatre Semblables, les, 24, 39

Regnard, 13, 28
Reine du Barostan, la, 107
Rémouleur d'Amour, le, 257
Ressource des Théâtres, la, 16

Retour de la Paix, le, 92
Riccoboni, 13, 34
Richard-Cœur-de-Lion, 137, 236
Richardson, 128, 214
Richardson, *Eloge de*, 128
Rival par Amitié, le, 165, 180, 181, 202, 203, 208, 220, 244, 247
Robe de Dissention, la, 64, 65, 66, 67, 81, 83, 218, 309, 311, 315
Roi et le Fermier, le, 138
Romagnesi, 13, 157, 217, 237, 246, 257, 259, 317
Roumanians, 282
Rousseau, J. B., 275
Rousseau, J. J., 135, 251, 252, 255, 279, 282, 301
Russians, 268, 269, 273, 278, 288, 289, 290

Sac d'Avoine, le, 160, 171
Saint Foix, 283
Saurin, 129, 170, 175, 180, 237, 241
Saxons, 93
Scots, 151, 211, 239
Sedaine, 129, 137, 138, 139, 141, 236, 268
Servians, 282
Shakespeare, 126, 127, 139, 140
Shaw, 150, 219
Sidnei, 174, 175, 212
Soirée des Boulevards, la, 83
Sophie et Sigismond, 276, 277, 278
Spectator, 125
Staël, Madame de, 253, 261
Suisse Malade, le, 258
Suites du Libertinage, les, 147, 231
Surprise de la Hainc, la, 14, 149, 224, 225, 231, 240
Swedes, 290
Swift, 125, 132, 133, 149

Talisman, le, 37
Tambour Nocturne, le, 140, 244

- Tarare*, 24
Temple de la Vérité, le, 257
Traum ein Leben, der, 286
Trésor Supposé, le, 102
Trois Commères, les, 177
Trois Sultanes, les, 62
Tuteurs, les, 310

Vérité dans le Vin, la, 158, 159, 240
Veuve Coquette, la, 18
Vida es Sueño, la, 286
Vie est un Songe, la, 285, 286, 287
Vindictif, le, 36

Voltaire, 48, 49, 52, 56, 76, 82, 111, 117, 118, 126, 132, 133, 134, 168, 170, 187, 188, 189, 200, 212, 214, 234, 243, 244, 245, 261, 274, 275, 300, 301
Voltaire in England, 134
Voyageur, le, 20, 216, 290, 304

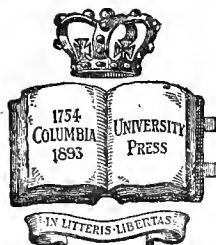
Welshmen, 236, 239
Würtembergers, 93

Young, 127, 129, 133

Zémine et Almanzor, 288, 289

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